Editors

SONIA D. ANDRAȘ **ROXANA MIHALY**



Creative Negotiations. Romania – America 1920 -1940





Presa Universitară Clujeană

Creative negotiations.
Romania–America 1920–1940

Sonia D. Andraș • Roxana Mihaly
(Editors)

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The authors are responsible for the information and content in their submitted chapters.

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Referenți științifici:

Prof. univ. dr. Sorin Liviu Damean
Dr. Adriana Cupcea

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Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai
Presa Universitară Clujeană
Director: Codruța Săcelean
Str. B.P. Hasdeu nr. 51
400371 Cluj-Napoca, România
Tel./fax: (+40)-264-597.401
E-mail: editura@ubbcluj.ro
http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro/

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Introduction

Throughout the interwar period, America's interest in Romania grew and encompassed not only political, diplomatic, and historical aspects but also financial, cultural, and educational contributions. Thus, the Romanian-American ties throughout the interwar period suggest innate complexity and dynamism. This volume presents novel techniques and issues examined from an interdisciplinary, multi-perspective, and intercultural outlook. These approaches are derived from ideas such as discussion, negotiation, educational, and cultural communications.

The period encompasses two pivotal decades in Romania's chronicles: 1920 saw the country recognized as a nation-state, and 1940 saw Romania join the Axis as a National Legionary State. The year 1930 marks a turning point in Romania's political, cultural, and social movements, as well as its halfway point. Following the intricate negotiations that resulted from political and diplomatic discussions and choices made during the interwar period and the early years of World War II, this volume examines the relationship between Romania and the United States.

Beyond the traditional description of American-Romanian relations, primarily regarding America's unilateral political and economic interests in Central and East Europe, the research adds a comparative methodology to the current literature on American-Romanian relations and archival documents before 1940. As a result, it emphasizes adaptability, mobility, and interchangeability, replacing inflexible hierarchies based on binary concepts like core and peripheral. Beyond interpretations of unilateral transfers from the center, represented by the United States, and the peripheral Other, represented by Romania, this volume looks at examples of successful and unsuccessful talks between Romania and the United States throughout formative cultural and educational years. It elevates global and transcultural perspectives over self-centered ones, as well as those that blame and victimize oneself.

The method is multidisciplinary and encompasses imagology, cultural studies, memory, identity, fashion, travel, and religious aspects in addition to history (cultural, intellectual, social, political, economic, scientific, history of education, history of religion, and art history).

The research applies cultural studies concepts (negotiation, difference, diversity, discourse, power relationship, representation) to historical, literary, imagological, and artistic investigation to further relativize the borders between disciplines, identities, and cultures. With an emphasis on understudied areas, the aim is to provide an exceptional addition to the understanding of Romanian-American ties between 1920 and 1940. It demonstrates how intercultural contacts transcend national or bilateral political goals for mutual understanding, reflecting the dynamic nature of this dialogue.

The purpose of this volume is to demonstrate the advantages of researching cultural, artistic, historical, and educational ties to gain a deeper understanding of American and Romanian civilizations, art, history, and formative experiences. Using multidisciplinary, comparative, and multi-perspective methods, it reconstructs the dynamic and complexity of the historical and cultural background. To provide a more complete picture of Romanian-American cultural, artistic, scientific, and educational interactions, it also intends to determine how cultural communication changes during and after political, ideological, and military conflicts.

This volume attempts to provide a thorough knowledge of the interwar discourse and its subsequent echoes until the twenty-first century by correlating Romanian research on cultural, artistic, scientific, historical, and educational Romanian-American interactions before and occasionally after 1940. The research is multidisciplinary, comparative, and multiperspectival. It emphasizes mobility and fluidity outside of existing hierarchies. Therefore, by showing examples of convergence and negotiation, it makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the multisided interactions between Romanians and Americans during the interwar period.

This book applies the *idea of negotiating*, which was recently adopted from business and media studies to cultural studies. In keeping with this

methodology, the analysis will focus on the juxtapositions of difference/ regularity, divergence/agreement, and conflict/concord within the context of liminality, transgression, and in-betweenness, where negotiation can change the course of events from conflict to resolution. By preventing confrontations if there is a desire to create a better future, negotiation can resolve communication breakdowns on a national, cultural, social, gender, religious, political, and ideological level. Negotiation replaces imposition of power, conflict, and unilateral decision-making in international relations.

There is a good reason that the concept of *creative negotiation* is referred here to as an inventive, imaginative, artistic endeavor of inspired minds. The inventiveness of the American and Romanian parties' proposals and counteroffers in the course of history and their respective levels of negotiating power are critical factors in determining whether negotiations were successful. Negative creativity in negotiations usually leads to unsatisfactory outcomes. For this reason, creative suggestions held greater weight than denials in the interwar cultural negotiations between the United States and Romania. In cross-cultural communication, prejudices, biases, and a lack of mutual understanding can all be detrimental to originality and innovation. Discovering commonalities and avenues for dialogue or compromise among seemingly incompatible differences bridges the gap, hence defining diversity. Searching for the undiscovered opportunities that obstacles bring is critical to creative negotiating. Potential solutions must consider the needs of all participants as a fundamental component of this creative endeavor. In our case, the participants in creative negotiations are the United States and Romania. In this instance, Romania and the United States are parties to creative negotiations.

The first section, *Negotiations in History, Education, and Culture,* opens with Prof. Dr. Cornel Sigmirean's study, *In Search of the Model: Romanian Professors and Students at American Universities (1920–1940)*, beginning with Romania's 1918 Union as the triumph of the national idea in the context of the assumption of the self-determination principle by the Romanians in the Danube Monarchy. On January 8, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson presented a fourteen-point Declaration on his vision for peace to the US Congress.

Point 10 referred to the right of self-determination for the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, mentioning that at that time, Wilson opted for the federalization of Austria-Hungary according to the American model and not for its dismemberment. On November 5, 1918, under the principle of self-determination, the USA accepted the solution of detaching Transylvania from the old monarchy, which brought the American president great prestige among Romanians. In the preparatory conference for the act of union on November 30, Ștefan Cicio-Pop called Wilson "the first nuncio of national autonomy." In Romanian historiography, the American model's influence in formulating the documents of the Union of 1918, first of all, the July 4, 1776, *Declaration of Independence* in Philadelphia, was rightly circulated. Through the union acts in Chișinău, Cernăuți, and Alba Iulia, Romania became the second largest state in Central and Eastern Europe, after Poland, outside of the USSR.

However, with all the progress, Romania could not join the grand hierarchy of European states. The country could not overcome its historical backwardness compared to the modern world. As a result, a constant concern for the Western model of culture and civilization was generated in the interwar period, besides a conservative tendency to return to traditions. If Romanian culture was dominated by the French model in the nineteenth century and the German model in the interwar period, the American model also became attractive. War, political and cultural influence, cinema, and the encounter with America of many Romanian intellectuals inspired in the public space, through the press and cultural magazines, a unique attraction for the American model. Promoted by intellectuals who traveled to the US or by those who studied in American universities, the American model became fascinating. The American university ideal was endorsed through travel accounts, articles, and studies published in cultural magazines in the Romanian public space. Thus, a standard image of the American university was created: a specific architecture, comfort, everyday space, church, stadium, restaurants, campus, study, and research spaces, all the comfort that ensures the young "road to light." Invariably, it transmits the atmosphere that prevails

in US universities. Especially compared to European universities, the democratic spirit that dominated the relations between students and faculty was noted. Professor Emony G. Clark's confession, "I believe in methodical and intensive work and democracy based on education and science," symbolized the era's academic spirit. The standard image of the student was that of the young man in a sweater, blue, green, gray, or yellow, with long velvet pants. As a presence in the educational space: "The American student is less standardized in his attitudes than the student coming from the English aristocracy, the French bourgeoisie or the Romanian peasant stratum."

In his chapter, *The Project of Romania's Participation in the Chicago World's Fair in 1933: Some Unpublished Documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, Prof. Dr. Laurențiu Vlad illustrates Romania's participation in the 1933 Chicago World's Fair, focusing on Romanian-American relations, including the case of Romanians in the USA and a diplomatic historical perspective on the Romanian Legation in Washington. Laurențiu Vlad reconstructs a history of Romania's participation project in the Chicago World's Fair in 1933, making use of lesser-known documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Washington fonds, Romania – USA problem, cultural issues, vol. no. 212), which he is partially publishing on this occasion. This history starts in 1931, when the government in Bucharest was invited to participate in the Chicago World's Fair but did not honor the American request, leaving room for private initiatives, such as the initiative committees in the country and the United States of Ștefan Tătărescu, respectively Paul D. Tomy. Initially, the governments of Iuliu Maniu and Alexandru Vaida-Voievod, in office from 1931 to 1933, agreed to moral support for the efforts initiated by Tătărescu and Tomy. Still, due to diplomatic errors on the part of some members of the private committees supporting Romanian participation in the Fair, this option was also abandoned. However, the Legation in Washington, together with the Secretariat of State for Press and Information, supported symbolically, but also formally, the efforts of the Romanian committees whose objective was the Romanian presence at the 1933 World's Fair. They did so, for example, by sending volumes signed

by Romanian women (Otilia Cazimir, Bucura Dumbravă, Cora Irineu, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, Princess Marthe Bibesco, or Queen Marie) to the book Fair held in conjunction with the International Women's Congress in July 1933, an event included in the Chicago event. Laurențiu Vlad further highlights the modest five hundred dollar contribution for organizing the festivities dedicated to the "Romanian Day," on September 3, 1933, also included in the calendar of the 1933 World's Fair. He also notes that those five hundred dollars represented less than 1/9 of the total sum raised through donations from Romanian individuals in the United States, as well as from their organizations or parishes, and the sale of promotional materials or admission tickets. As a further significant point, the author mentions that the September 3, 1933 event also included organizing conferences for students, Baptists, and Romanian-American societies and organizations.

Grațian Marian Moldovan offers a philosophical introduction to American Liberal Democracy and its relationship to Romanian politics. His plea for *Media Ethics and Democracy in Action* presents Romania's discursive relationship with the United States of America as a moment of maximum cooperation on all levels, from the military, strategic partnership, anti-missile shield, and joint international military missions to the economy. History records the close relations between Romania and the United States of America either through the chroniclers Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir or, later, through the archdeacon of the Iași Metropolitan, Gerasim – "History of America" with the volume that brings the history of the American continent to the fore, up to the statements at the higher political level between the representatives of the two partner states, assumed through negotiations, agreements, partnerships, cooperation in all fields.

Dr. Daniel Citirigă introduces readers to a complex personal and collective story starring Agnes von Kurowsky and Ernest Hemingway, focusing on her letters to and from Romania as an American Red Cross nurse, in the chapter *Agnes von Kurowsky, Ernest Hemingway and the American Red Cross–Romania through the Eyes of a Universal Literature Muse*. After the end of World War One, Romania was severely affected by epidemics, famine,

poverty, and had over a hundred thousand orphaned children, in addition to the wounded and infirm. As a result, by the end of 1918, American aid was seen as the saving solution. In 1919, a new mission of the American Red Cross arrived in Bucharest, following a previous one during the war. However, due to differences in vision between Herbert Hoover, the leader of the American Relief Administration, and the Romanian government, most members of the American Red Cross withdrew in the fall of 1919. Consequently, in 1920, only a small American Junior Red Cross team remained, assuming responsibility for the care of the children. Agnes von Kurowski was assigned as a nurse of the Junior Red Cross. Today, we know that she was the nurse with whom Ernest Hemingway had a love affair during the war in Italy in 1918. After their separation, she spent almost two years, in two different stages, at the centers and sanatoriums for Romanian children in Bucharest, Techirghiol, Constanța, and Breaza. During the first stage, Agnes von Kurowski wrote several letters to her mother and one to an acquaintance. Furthermore, in December 1922, even though they were no longer together, Agnes wrote a letter to her former lover, Ernest, referencing the period spent in Romania. Thus, this study has two components. On the one hand, it traces the biographical profile of the woman who would become one of universal literature' most famous muses, starting from her relationship with Ernest Hemingway. On the other hand, based on the letters, it explores the image of Romania through the eyes of the nurse Agnes von Kurowski. For this second part, we have reproduced the letters as documents.

The book's second section, *Negotiations in the Jazz Age and the Avant-Garde*, opens with Conf. Dr. Elena Butoescu's essay *Jazzing Up the City. The Reception of American Music and Dance in Interwar Bucharest* on interwar cultural negotiations applied to American musical, namely jazz, influences interwar Bucharest as sociocultural configurations and their broadcasting and recording studios. The US and Romania established official, diplomatic relations in 1880, when the US government opened a diplomatic legation in Bucharest. It was not until 1881 – when Romania was proclaimed an independent kingdom recognized by the Great Powers of Europe and by

the United States of America, which agreed to sign the Consular Convention with Romania on 5 and 17 June 1881 – that the two countries strengthened their diplomatic relations. However, going beyond diplomacy and politics, the two countries underwent vast social and cultural changes in the interwar period. This aspect reflects the dynamics and the evolution of this period. These changes affected the discourses around music, identity, and culture. As a reference culture, America was largely instrumental in influencing the music experiments that emerged in Romania as early as 1918. Since connections between the two countries flourished during the interwar period, before Romania declared war on the US in 1941, Elena Butoescu aims to look at the interwar cultural negotiations between Romania and the US in the context of the heyday of ragtime, foxtrot, Charleston, and jazz. As early as the 1920s, jazz outgrew the American borders, and the force of the new sound was as powerful as politics since it flooded Europe, counterbalancing the pressures and destruction of World War One. Elena Butoescu's article investigates the extent to which borrowed and inherited musical influences changed the post-war Romanian context. She also analyzes the variables involved in the process of acculturation. Was the resulting intercultural exchange balanced? What sociocultural configurations resulted from this musical contact between America and Romania in interwar Bucharest? Rather than adhering to a single theoretical and methodological approach, this study seeks to analyze the possibilities of interdisciplinary, intercultural, and transnational sonic exploration. Elena Butoescu's study aims to explain how American music and dance were tailored to meet local conditions in interwar Bucharest by placing particular emphasis on cultural mediators such as radio broadcasting and recording studios.

The second chapter in this section, *Garçonne, but Make Her Flapper: Using American Femininity Models to Re-Fashion the Romanian 'Modern Girl'* by Dr. Sonia D. Andraș blends the flapper model with fashion and beauty and their cultural negotiations between America and Romania. Sonia D. Andraș examines the reception of the American 'flapper' model and how it was interpreted and translated into the interwar Romanian fashion and beauty

discourse, into the 1920s model termed as the 'modern girl,' as opposed to the 'new woman' of the 1930s. It follows the evolution of 1920s styles, including Jazz and Hollywood cultures, specific fashions like Egyptomania, low-waist hems, short skirts, bobbed hair, and striking makeup, alongside US social, economic, and ideological concepts. This chapter explores how the Parisian dominance of culture, fashion, and beauty was gradually overridden by American sartorial and aesthetic vernaculars, even if the garments and designs, themselves still originated mainly from Paris. It thus follows the evolution of the 'modern girl' from the demure lady of yore towards the glamorous divas that would come to define Classic Hollywood. The 1920–1929 timeline covers the post-war crystallization of Greater Romania until the Great Depression, which brought about the demise of the 'modern girl' and the "Roaring Twenties." Sonia D. Andraș uses primary materials from published books, periodical sources, and items from her personal collection. Her chapter's methodology is informed by visual and textual discourse analysis, using fashion as the main connection between characters and contexts.

In his essay, *Transatlantic Aesthetics: Exploring American and Romanian Artistic Interactions. Artists in the Avant-Garde*, Dr. Alexandru Bar focuses on the artistic dynamics of American-Romanian relations during the interwar period to understand if the evolution of diplomatic and economic ties translated into a significant exchange between artists on both sides active within the avant-garde. It examines avant-garde artists' contributions to advancing a bilateral transnational cultural exchange that transcended national boundaries. These artists achieved this by establishing connections within the art world while simultaneously developing their own innovative visual and literary theories that were tailored to the unique characteristics of their respective geographical contexts. This article is supported by Alfred H. Barr's important catalogs on contemporary art, "Cubism and Abstract Art" and "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism." Released in 1936 by the Museum of Contemporary Art (MoMA), New York, they have supported the arguments presented in this article. Alexandru Bar addresses the replacement of centuries-long Romanian infatuation with France in favor of American

architecture by discussing the appearance of the first skyscraper in Bucharest. Through this endeavor, the intention is to provide a fresh perspective on how avant-garde artists, in their pursuit of achieving organic coherence, drew upon both American and Romanian cultures in the development of artistic movements such as Art Deco, Dadaism, Cubism, Surrealism, and others. This amalgamation of influences gave rise to a pluralistic identity that merged cultural nationalism with localist Modernism, ultimately leading to an unprecedented internationalization of both cultures.

In *Romania's Participation in the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair in an Elite Context: Enescu, Maria Tănase, and Brâncuși*, Dr. Roxana Mihaly, introduces Romania's participation in the 1939–1940 New York World's fair, blending cultural diplomacy and modern art. Romania's participation in the Universal Exhibition in New York in 1939–1940 marked a significant moment in the cultural and technological history of the twentieth century. Under the motto "Building the World of Tomorrow with the Tools of Today," this monumental exhibition united nations, states and territories, providing a global platform for progress and innovation. Under the coordination of Commissioner General Dimitrie Gusti and Secretary of the Washington Legation Andrei Popovici, Romania's participation represented a bridge between Romanian traditions and new world trends. The organizing of *Săptămâna muzicală românească* (*The Romanian Music Week*), in which composer George Enescu conducted orchestras in New York and Philadelphia to showcase the brilliance of Romanian music, was a unique occasion. The meeting of three key personalities from Romanian culture – composer George Enescu, sculptor Constantin Brâncuși, and vocalist Maria Tănase – was a crucial occasion of immense cultural depth. Brâncuși, present in New York for the exhibition *Art in Our Time* at the Museum of Modern Art, proved, once again, his genius and innovation in sculpture. However, he was merely a guest, carrying his unmistakable artistic genius. With her passionate performance of traditional songs that enthralled the crowd and sparked a notable controversy, Maria Tănase also brought a touch of Romanian authenticity with her repertoire of traditional songs. Through this triumvirate of Romanian culture, the

Universal Exhibition in New York remained memorable in Romanian cultural diplomacy and transmitted the richness and depth of Romanian art and culture to the whole world.

Starting the *Literary and Visual Representations of the Other* section, the chapter *Creating History. Hotels, or Spaces of Otherness in American War Correspondents' Journeys to and from Romania during the 1930s* by Dr. Carmen Andraș focuses on American foreign correspondence, juxtaposing journalism with grand hotels in interwar Romania during World War Two, as heterotopias belonging to history, cultural, media and travel studies. Carmen Andraș applies the concept of heterotopia as defined by Michel Foucault to describe the multiple sites and historical moments coexisting in public spaces like hotels, including their living and accommodation spaces, visited along the European itineraries to and from Romania followed by American World War II correspondents, from Hotel Adlon in Berlin or the Viennese Hotel Imperial to Bucharest's Athénée Palace. The chapter describes heterotopian spaces like hotels, where they met, exchanged information, and lived dramatic events during their journalistic assignments and investigations. The study focuses on war correspondence, memoirs, and diaries published in books and written by journalists like John Gunther, Robert St. John, Leigh White, Robert Parker, and Countess R. G. Waldeck, who stayed in Romania, in transit or for a longer time. Defined as heterotopias, spaces like hotels frequented by American correspondents and mentioned for their historical importance are characterized by in-betweenness, liminality, and transitionality. They are different from each of the familiar and domestic spaces they are meant to represent, and, at the same time, they are absorbing them all in a strange, remote, odd, sometimes claustrophobic space. They represent simultaneously memory and history, personal and public spaces, familiar and foreign, here and there, comfortable hotel and garrison room, secure and dangerous, in a time of war and psychological stress. Methodologically, the study belongs to various research domains like travel, identity and cultural studies, imagology, military and diplomatic history, comparative literature, and media. The study contributes with little-known sources of

information, combining travel accounts, memoirs, and war journalism and proving that American travel literature about interwar Romania, including war correspondence, was substantial in quality and quantity.

On a related note, Dr. Andi Sâsâiac's chapter *Literary and Imagological Exchanges through Translation. Links Between Romania and the USA in the Period Between the Two World Wars* juxtaposes original English-language texts with their Romanian translations. The cultural effervescence of Romania between the Two World Wars and the unprecedented economic growth of that age have significantly impacted the rating of Romania in the West. Closer ties with the English-speaking world were also established during those times. As a consequence, the interest of one party in getting to know the other came both ways. Whether it referred to making up for the profound scarcity of highly significant American literary works accessible to the Romanian readership, to the direct observation and dissemination of the American society and lifestyle, or of the Romanian social architecture and so-called 'national character,' the approaches were facilitated through the means of translation and travel. The latter can well be regarded as a metaphor for translation itself: in representing different peoples and cultures, travel writers "translate" from one cultural space into another. Especially recently, Romanians have been highly interested in their 'image,' as outlined by Western visitors. Andi Sâsâiac analyzes such literary and imagological links, focusing on translation as their leading facilitator.

Also, on a literary theme, Dr. Cristina Matilda Vănoagă's chapter, *The Fairy Tales of Queen Marie of Romania as Cultural Diplomatic Instrument in the USA*, follows the path of cultural diplomacy through fairy and folk tales by Queen Marie of Romania. The Queen had a fruitful literary activity; the article presents the fairy tales Queen Marie of Romania wrote in English and published in The United States before and after her official visit there. The fictional works intend to make the Romanian culture known abroad. We discuss in this article the fairy tale *The Story of Naughty Kildeen* (1922), *The Queen of Roumania's Fairy Book* (1920), the fairy tale *Lulaloo*, and *The Magic Doll of Roumania: A Wonder Story in which East and West Do Meet, Written*

for American Children (1929), all published after the visit to America. She also depicts various contexts and the capacity of the discussed text to function as cultural diplomacy instruments.

Last but not least, in their chapter *Totalitarianism and the Emigration of a Romanian Architect to the USA in the Interwar Era,* Dr.Dipl.Ing. Maria Boștenaru Dan and and Dr. Octaviana Jianu present the context of the (re)discovery of a Romanian-American architect who worked at the beginning in Romania with one of the most important pioneers of Modernism, Horia Creanga, and then turned shortly before going into exile to own practice. Haralamb Georgescu went into exile, fleeing Communism, as are the fellow architects involved in his last work, representing a central part of the paper. In Romania and the USA, he was also teaching, but in the USA, he renounced teaching to practice. The first buildings were two Romanian Orthodox churches in the East, but then the practice concentrated in Los Angeles and the surrounding area, first in some offices, then as an associated architect and finally with his practice. Both built and utopian works of his were praised and built as the subject of exhibitions. Some of them are restored today. Maria Boștenaru and Octaviana Jianu did literature research and started searching in the archives for future papers and field work in Bucharest. As a result, maps of the geographical locations of his works were done. The confluence of Romanian, Greek and Italian influence on his work, another Modernism but close to Bauhaus, is highlighted by Maria Boștenaru and Octaviana Jianu.

This book, financed by the UEFISCDI project *EDERA – The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations* (1920–1940), focuses on the creative dimensions of creative negotiations. It highlights the nuanced processes at play in the creative negotiations among artists, critics, scientists, historians, publishers, and the broader public. The field of Romanian-American Studies will thereby get new insights from this book and its authors.

Consequently, the volume covers understudied facets of Romanian-American relations and looks into the creative negotiations between the two nations in a comparative and multidisciplinary manner.

Contributors

Prof. Dr. Cornel Sigmirean, History PhD, Senior Researcher, Director, the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute for Social Sciences and the Humanities in Târgu Mureș, Professor, University of Medicine and Pharmacy (UMFST), Târgu Mureș; Project Director: PN-III-P4-PCE-2021-0688 *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940)*, sub-theme: *The ethos of education. Intellectual itineraries;* author of books and studies within the project's theme: history of international relations, intellectual history, history of the elites and education, among which: *Istoria formării intelectualității românești din Transilvania și Banat în epoca modernă*, 2000; *Intelectualitatea ecleziastică. Preoții Blajului (1806–1918),* 2007; *Formarea elitelor militare ale Imperiului austro-ungar. Studenți transilvăneni la Academia Militară ''Ludovika'' din Budapesta*, 2011; editor: *Tradiție și modernitate: Elitele din România în "secolul cel scurt" (1918–1989*), 2022; co-editor of: *Culture, elites and European integration,* Paris, 2011, *Studenți români din Transilvania la universitățile din Europa în secolele XVI-XX*, 2011; *Elites and the South-East European Culture*, Rome, 2015, *European Integration – Between Tradition and Modernity*, 2015, *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848–1948),* 2016; *Debating Globalization. Identity, Nation and Dialogue*, 2017; *Actele Unirii*, 2018.

Dr. Carmen-Maria Andraș, PhD, Comparative literature, Associate Senior Researcher, the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute for Social Sciences and the Humanities in Târgu Mureș; Project member: PN-III-P4-PCE-2021-0688 *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940);* Sub-theme *Negotiating between objectivity and stereotypes. American war correspondents in Romania*; academic interests: comparative literature and cultural studies, travel, identity studies, imagology; director of two PCE research projects (2008 and 2011); author of books in Romania and abroad, articles and studies on related themes: author *România și imaginile ei în literatura de călătorie britanică: un spațiu de frontieră culturală,* 2003; editor *New Directions in Travel Writing and Travel Studies*,

Aachen, 2010; co-editor of *An Imagological Dictionary of the Cities in Romania Represented in British Travel Literature (1800–1940),* 2012; *Itineraries Beyond Borders of Cultures, Identities and Disciplines*, 2012; *Discourse and Counter-discourse in Cultural and Intellectual History,* 2014, *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848–1948)*, 2016.

Dr. Sonia D. Andraș is an Associate Postdoctoral Researcher at the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute of Social and Human Sciences in Târgu Mureș as a Postdoctoral member in the project funded by UEFISCDI (Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding) titled *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940)* at the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute for Social Sciences and Humanities in Târgu-Mureș. She has a PhD from London College of Fashion, University of the Arts London, awarded in August 2020. Her upcoming book titled *The Women of 'Little Paris:' Fashion in Interwar Bucharest* will appear with Bloomsbury Publishing UK. She has been participating in various international conferences and has been publishing on relevant themes that connect fashion to beauty, gender, eugenics, politics, and economics.

Dr. Alexandru Bar is a Research Associate at the University of York's Department of History of Art, whose work is fundamentally trans-disciplinary and trans-national, combining art history, cultural history, and Jewish studies. He earned his M.A. at Tel Aviv University in Israel (on a Masa scholarship) and his PhD at the University of Leeds in the United Kingdom (on an AHRC-funded scholarship with the "Performing Jewish Archives" Project). His research explores the rarely examined relationship between Tristan Tzara and Marcel Janco, their thinking and language. He seeks to clear the way for a renewed consideration of the symbolic substance of Tzara's and Janco's Jewish experience and the role it played in defining their national identity. His most recent research project seeks to provide an original account of the life and creative endeavours of Marcel Janco after 1940 with the aim to create a more comprehensive understanding of Janco's Jewish identity and the influence of suffering and disillusionment on his introspective exploration of art. Dr Bar has recently co-authored an article with Professor Michael White, titled "Dada Lingua Franca: The Linguistic Fate of Tristan Tzara and Raoul Hausmann," which is featured in the volume "Cannibalizing

the Canon: Dada Techniques in East-Central Europe," edited by Oliver A.I. Botar et al. This work, published by Brill Academic Pub in 2024 as part of the Avant Garde Critical Studies series, further cements his reputation as a scholar of avant-garde movements and their complex cultural contexts.

Dr. Elena Butoescu is an Associate Professor in English Literature at the Department of British, American, and German Studies, University of Craiova, Romania. She earned her Master's Degree in British Cultural Studies at the University of Bucharest and her Master's Degree in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies at the University of Leeds. In 2011, she defended her PhD thesis in the field of eighteenth-century British literary imposture at the University of Bucharest. Her research interests include print culture and modernity, travel literature, literary imposture, and British travelers to the Romanian Principalities. She is the co-author of *An Imagological Dictionary of the Cities in Romania represented in British Travel Literature (1800–1940)*, Târgu-Mureș, 2012. Her most recent book, *Literary Imposture and Eighteenth-Century Knowledge. The Tradition of the Literary Faker in England from Marana to Goldsmith* was published by Zeta Books in 2019.

Dr. Dipl.-Ing. Maria Boștenaru Dan graduated as an Engineer in Architecture at the University of Karlsruhe in Germany. She spent over a decade abroad, in Germany and Italy (2 of her 3 Marie Curie fellowships). She obtained her Doctoral degree at the „Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism. She completed two postdoctoral projects, one in geography at the University of Bucharest and one in architecture at Accademia di Romania a Roma. Now, she is the principal investigator of a Romanian fundamental research project.

Dr. Daniel Citirigă is an Associate Researcher at the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute of Social and Human Sciences in Târgu Mureș as a Postdoctoral member in the project funded by UEFISCDI (Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding) titled *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940)* at the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute for Social Sciences and Humanities in Târgu-Mureș. He has a Ph.D. in History (2013) and is an associate professor at the Faculty of History and Political Science of „Ovidius" University from Constanța. His research interests focus on political regimes in interwar Central and Eastern Europe, the intellectuals

and politics and the diplomatic relations between Romania and the states from Central and Eastern Europe. He has published studies and articles in academic journals, and the most relevant volumes are *Europa Centrală și tentația federalismului. Istorie și diplomație în perioada interbelică*, Târgoviște, 2015, *Diplomația Coroanei. Casa Regală a României în Europa Centrală și de Sud-Est în perioada interbelică*, Cluj-Napoca, 2015; Daniel Citirigă (co-editor), *Intelectualii politicii și politica intelectualilor*, Târgoviște, 2016.

Dr. Octaviana Jianu is a graduate of the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work (2004) at the University of Bucharest and holds a Master's degree in Security Studies (2006) from the same faculty. She earned her Ph.D. in History from Tor Vergata University in Rome (2013). She received the Excellence Scholarship for Young Researchers from the University of Bucharest (April-June 2015) and the Vasile Pârvan Scholarship (October 2015–March 2016) for the Accademia di Romania in Rome. She works as a Scientific Researcher at the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism. Her main areas of interest revolve around the relationship between intellectuals and political power in the 20th century.

Dr. Roxana Mihaly is an Associate Postdoctoral Researcher at the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute of Social and Human Sciences in Târgu Mureș as a Postdoctoral member in the project funded by UEFISCDI (Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding) titled *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940*), with the sub-theme "The Influence of Romanian Artistic Currents in America." She was a postdoctoral "Nicolae Iorga" fellow at the Institute for Romanian Culture and Humanistic Research in Venice (2020–2022) and "Vasile Pârvan" fellow at the Romanian Academy in Rome (2012–2013). In 2015, she obtained her Ph.D. from Sapienza University of Rome. She is the author of several articles dedicated to cultural diplomacy and the book *La costruzione identitaria di un'élite culturale. Accademia di Romania (1922–1948)* published by Nuova Cultura in 2018. Her research fields include cultural diplomacy, history/political science, security studies, communication, and digitalization.

Dr. Grațian Marian Moldovan is an Associate Lecturer at the National University of Physical Education and Sport in Bucharest. His field of study is

ethics, communication, and public relations. He has published articles in national and international journals such as *Giddens About the Third Way,* published in the journal *Dezbateri Social Economice*, *Media Ethics in the Twentieth Century Ideological Context*, published in *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Law and Social Order*. He participated in national and international conferences as an organizer or speaker. Current concerns are related in the present and future to the study of communication ethics, as an essential field to which we can relate regardless of the field of activity.

Dr. Andi Sâsâiac holds a Doctoral degree from the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi with a thesis on the translation of travel writings, with Romania as a case in point. He teaches English to students of Physics and Economics at the same university. His professional experience includes teaching Business English at the Vocational College for Economists and Business Assistants in Novo Mesto, Slovenia. He has been recently involved in the project "A History of Translations into the Romanian Language (HTRL) from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century" as an author and chapter coordinator.

Dr. Cristina Matilda Vănoagă is a Lecturer at "1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia, Department of Letters. Her thesis, *Proza lui Andrei Codrescu: Spații între realitate și imaginar*, was published in 2019 at the Tracus Arte Publishing House. She is also a PhD student in European Studies and International Relations. Her cross-disciplinary research interests include postmodern literature and imaginary, folk and fairy tales, cultural mediation, and the American cultural and political space.

Prof. Dr. Laurențiu Vlad, Associate Senior Researcher, the "Gheorghe Șincai" Institute for Social Sciences and the Humanities in Târgu Mureș; Project member: PN-III-P4-PCE-2021-0688 *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian–American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940);* Sub-theme *The Ethos of World Fairs: Romanian-American negotiations and propaganda at the New York World Fair (1939–1940)*. Ph.D. in the history of mentalities and professor at the University of Bucharest, specializing in the History of Romanians, nineteenth and twentieth centuries (imagology/ national identity imagery, cultural diplomacy, elite formation) and the History of mentalities, political ideas, and ideologies (conservatism, the

European idea, the image of the other). In his fields, he has published 20 single-authored or co-authored books, edited/coordinated volumes, or anthologies (sole editor/co-editor) with prestigious national and international publishers, respectively, more than 70 articles/studies in collective volumes or specialized/academic journals in the country and abroad – Bulgaria, France, Germany, USA – (not counting their reprints). He has participated in over 25 international or internationally attended scientific conferences/meetings in France, Greece, Romania, Hungary, or Turkey. He was Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Bucharest (2010–2015) and, subsequently, Pro-Rector of the University (2016–2019). From 20 July 2016 to 5 January 2017, he held the Secretary of State for Higher Education position in the Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research.

Negotiations
in History, Education, and Culture

In Search of the Model: Romanian Professors and Students at American Universities (1920–1940)*

Cornel Sigmirean

Starting with the end of the nineteenth century, America represented the dream of many Romanians from Banat, Bucovina, and Transylvania, but also from the Old Kingdom, who emigrated to the American cities of Boston, New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, etc.[1] Of these, about 20,000 returned home to the territories that would belong to Romania after the Great War in 1918. This situation was owed considerably to the US policy towards the political realities in Europe during the Great War. On January 8, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson outlined his philosophy on the peace treaty in his "Fourteen Points" before the United States Congress. Point nine stated, "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along recognizable lines of nationality." Point 10 included the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the self-determination formula; with the mention that at that time, Wilson was opting for the federalization of Austria-Hungary according to the American model, and not for its dismemberment: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safe-guarded and guaranteed, should be bestowed the freest opportunity of

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1 Anamaria Lepcaliuc (Popescu), *Relațiile dintre România și Statele Unite ale Americii în timpul lui Nicolae Ceaușescu* (Bucharest: Glasul Istoriei, 2022), 19.

autonomous development."[2] The Wilsonian principles were welcomed in Transylvania's most diverse social environments, the American president enjoying great popularity among Romanians.[3] A *Memorandum on the Nationalities of Austria-Hungary*, dated May 10, 1918, belonging to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, pointed out that the idea of dismantling the dual monarchy was gaining ground in Washington, an idea also accepted by President Wilson.[4] Through the Romanians' effective propaganda in the USA, such as that of Transylvanian Vasile Stoica, who had contacts and meetings with American journalists, influential politicians, and through the distribution of brochures, the problem of the Romanians in the Danube Monarchy became increasingly acknowledged. Indeed, collaboration with representatives of national minorities, Czechs, Poles, Italians, Serbs, Croats, etc., was also essential. In September 1918, Wilson considered dismantling the dual monarchy but only favored the Yugoslavs, Czechs, Poles, and Italians.[5] On November 6, 1918, the press agencies carried the statement saying that the United States government profoundly sympathized with the spirit of unity and aspirations of the Romanians everywhere and would not neglect to use its influence in due time so that the just political rights and territories of the Romanian nation would be gained and secured against any foreign invasion.[6] With reservations and sometimes concern for the future of Central Europe, the "American solution" was also accepted by Great Britain and France. The representatives of Great Britain lamented the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, predicting that "if Europe balkanizes,

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[2] Daniel Citirigă, *Europa Centrală și tentația federalismului. Istorie și diplomație în perioada interbelică* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2015), 257, 65. See also Cornel Sigmirean "De la imperiu la regat: destinul elitei românești din Transilvania în România interbelică," in Cornel Sigmirean, ed., *Între tradiție și modernitate: elitele din România în "secolul cel scurt"* (1918–1989) (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2022), 73–98.

[3] Vasile Vesa, "President Wilson's Principles in Transylvania, in the Fall 1918," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, 25, fascicle 1 (1980): 32–38.

[4] Ion Stanciu, *Aliați fără alianță. România și SUA 1918–1920* (Bucharest: Albatros, 1992), 152.

[5] Ibid, 155–9.

[6] Ibid, 159.

there can be no more peace."[7] France, which had no plan for Central Europe, was worried that after the dismemberment of the Empire, Austria would demand unification with Germany.[8] The Fourteen Points changed the balance of political forces in Central and Eastern Europe, encouraging political movements, legitimizing the claims of small nations, especially in Austria-Hungary, shaking, as historian Misha Glenny asserts, the arrogance of great power diplomacy.[9]

On November 9, through an ultimatum, the Central Romanian National Council (Consiliul Național Român Central CNRC) asked the Hungarian National Council for the right to exercise power in Transylvania over twenty-three counties, thus delimiting the Romanian ethnic territory. On December 1, 1918, in the presence of over 100,000 people, the Resolution on the union of Transylvania with the Romanian Kingdom was unanimously adopted.[10] In the initiatory conference preparing the fulfillment of the Union on November 30, Ștefan Cicio Pop called Wilson "the first nuncio of national autonomy." [11] America became a protector and a model. In Romanian historiography, the influence of the American model was justly spread through the documents of the 1918 Great Union, primarily the Declaration of Independence from Philadelphia of July 4, 1776.

The American dream could also materialize in interwar Romania through the Romanian elites' interest in the American model of society, with the mention that some of the "American Romanians" remained in the USA after 1918, and others left the country after the war.

In 1920, about 150,000 Romanians in the USA represented an important human and economic capital. From a *Memoir* written by Dionisie Moldovan, former editor-in-chief of the *Românul* newspaper in the USA, considering

7 Citirigă, *Europa Centrală*, 70.
8 Ibid.
9 Misha Glenny, *Balcanii. Naționalism, război și Marile Puteri 1804–2012* (Bucharest: Editura Trei, 2020), 390.
10 Vesa, "President Wilson's Principles in Transylvania," 36.
11 Ion Clopoțel, *Revoluția din 1918 și Unirea Ardealului cu România* (Cluj: Editura Revistei Societatea de Mâine, 1926), 115.

that every Romanian possessed 500 dollars, they owned an amount of 75,000,000 dollars together.[12] In 1935, according to certain information, 350,000 Romanians lived in America, organized in 95 cultural and aid leagues, incorporated in the *Union and League of Romanian Societies in the U.S.A. and Canada*, led by Nicolae Balindu, president, Nicolae Dateș, first vice president, Nicolae Cârstea, second vice president, and John Mureșan, secretary and treasurer. The Union published the newspaper *America*, led by J.N. Barbu. The editorial office for Romania was headed by the Bessarabian writer Paul Donici.[13]

However, during the interwar period, the stake of relations between Romania and the USA became oil. After the end of the war, Romanian companies took over part of the majority package of shares belonging to the Germans, and the rest was divided equally between French and English capital, a fact that displeased the USA, specifically the great American trust, *Standard Oil*, which would have wanted to purchase the shares of the former company with German capital *Steaua*.[14]

During the interwar period, Washington constantly showed a special interest in Romania's economic potential, particularly its oil resources, expressing their concern about the intentions of the Bucharest government to nationalize the underground resources.[15] Nevertheless, through successive increases, the Romanian-American oil company, the subsidiary of the Standard Oil Trust, held the largest paid-up capital of all the companies in Romania (five hundred million paper lei in December 1922). The *Ford Motor Co*, the *Bethlehem Steel Corporation*, *The Chase National Bank*, or *IBM* trusts had substantial investments in Romania's economy.

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[12] *Arhiva Diplomatică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Fund 71 USA, vol. 36, fascicle 7.

[13] Paul Donici, "Diriguitorii vieții și activității românilor din USA și Canada," *Cele trei Crișuri*, XVI, no. 7–8, Oradea (July-August 1935): 117.

[14] Stanciu, *Aliați fără alianță*, 119–220.

[15] Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari* în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică (1919–1939) (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 1998), 58. See also for details: Stanciu, *În umbra Europei: Relațiile României cu Statele Unite în anii 1919–1939* (Bucharest: Editura Silex, 1996), 230–86.

The presence of American capital in Romania's economy brought the American model closer to Romania. The American cinematography and way of life also influenced Romanian culture and society. Mutual interests encouraged cultural and academic exchanges between Romania and the USA. Several scholars became the messengers of American science and culture in Romania and, vice versa, messengers of Romanian culture in the USA. Historian Charles Upson Clark, for example, with a Ph.D. at Yale University in 1903, studied at Munich, Rome, Grenoble, and Paris between 1898–1901, and was a professor at Yale University, visited Romania eight times between 1921 and 1940.[16] He authored books about Romania, financed by the Bucharest Propaganda Service, *Greater Roumania* (1922), *Bessarabia, Russia, and Roumania on the Black Sea* (1927), *United Roumania. The Minorities Problem* (1932), *Racial aspects of Romania's case* (1941). Clark translated Romanian literature as well, including Mihai Eminescu's poems. He also published articles on the realities in Romania in the American press. In recognition of his services to Romania, he was elected Foreign Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy in 1922.[17]

American sociologist and political scientist J.S. Roucek visited Romania in 1932 and published the volume *Contemporary Romania and Her Problems*, financed by Romania. In 1932, the Press Directorate subsidized the publication of his doctoral thesis, *The Working of the Minorities System under the League of Nations*.[18] He was also financially supported in publishing articles on Romanian literature and sociology. Professor Arthur I. Andrews from Harvard University, who in 1929 became a member of the *International Committee of Historical Sciences,* authored several articles on Romanian history in *Current History* and *American Historical Review* magazines. Around 1929, he was awarded the *Order of the Crown of Romania*, *Commander Class,* for "historical

[16] Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari*, 87.

[17] Dorina N. Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române. Dicționar*, 3rd ed. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2003), 198, with a Foreword by Academician Eugen Simion.

[18] Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari*, 188.

writings on Rumanian subjects."[19] Professor J. Kerner from Miami University also promoted Romania and prepared a paper on the Balkan conferences. Professor Harry Howard similarly joined the project. The two authors published their book in 1936 with documentary support from Bucharest.[20] Thomas Healy, professor at Georgetown University, visited Romania in 1927, holding several conferences on Romanian-American relations.[21]

The Romanian State has constantly tried to inaugurate Romanian language courses at American universities to promote Romanian history and culture in the USA. In 1930, such a course was initiated at Harvard University, supported by Professor Maxwell I. Raphael.[22] Funded by the Press Directorate, he researched Romania between October 1932 and February 1933, elaborating on a grammar of the Romanian language and an anthology of old Romanian documents. Romanian language and culture courses have been held since the end of World War I at Columbia University, owing to Professor Leon Feraru.[23] Nicolae Șerban, from the University of Iași, who visited Columbia University in 1926 with a delegation of university students, created the Institute of Romanian Culture next to the Department of Romance Languages of Columbia University, an institute whose honorary president was the rector of the University Columbia, Dr. Butler.[24]

The Romanian Legation in Washington recommended the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Public Instruction to thank the rector, Nicolas Murray-Butler, and the Dean of the Department of Romance Languages, Professor John L. Garing. In response to the creation of a similar institute at the expense of Italy, the argument was that Mussolini carried out the same measures.[25]

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[19] See *The New Pioneer* IV, "Cultural Association for Americans of Roumanian Descent," Indiana University, 1946, 14.

[20] Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari*, 188.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, 189.

[23] *Arhiva Diplomatică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), USA Fund, Vol. 71, fascicle 55.

[24] Ibid, 139.

[25] Ibid.

Owing to the strategy of promoting Romanian culture in the USA, special relations were created with Georgetown University in Washington. On the bicentennial of George Washington's birth, at the request of the Press Directorate, the Ministry of Public Instruction from Bucharest created a scholarship bearing the name of the founder of the USA.

Interwar Romanian intellectuals became increasingly connected to American realities, a fact reflected in the study, research, or leisure voyages to the USA. The first issue of the *Bulletin of the American Institute in Romania*, published in January 1934, as a publication of the American Institute in Romania stated that: "Accustomed to concern ourselves with what is happening in Europe, neglecting the fact that across the ocean there is a great nation whose norms of intellectual life are new, and whose economic methods are even newer, – Europeans often sporadically reflect on what is going on there."[26]

The list of Romanians who contributed to the history of Romanian-American cultural relations includes Christina A. Galitzi, collaborator of the Propaganda Service, professor of French at Scripps College in Claremont; D. N. Ciotori, delegated by the Romanian Academy, who visited Harvard, Princeton, Yale and Chicago universities, or Dimitrie Gusti, the great sociologist, who was granted an audience with President Roosevelt, etc.

The Romanians' visits to the United States were encouraged for "objective reasons," Nicolae Petrescu asserted in an article published in *Buletinul Institutului American din România* (*Bulletin of the American Institute in Romania,* 1934).

First, the Americans were a young nation with a new culture and civilization, just like the Romanians. The affinities of the two cultures could be mobilizing for Romanians. "Facing the prejudices and rigid barriers of the past, American culture possesses a freshness not found in the culture of ancient peoples. In this sense, American culture is closer to us than any other culture in the West."[27]

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26 "Institutul American," *Buletinul Institutului American din România* I, no. 1 (January 1934): 3.

27 Nicolae Petrescu, "Relațiile culturale cu Statele Unite," *Buletinul Institutului American din România* I, no. 1 (January 1934): 6.

Secondly, Nicolae Petrescu noted that the interest in American culture was given by its ethical and social character and because education and instruction in the USA aimed "to produce citizens useful to the community." There, "any cultural institution must address masses, to serve the people." In the American view, "the culture of the masses must take precedence over the culture of the elites." The explanation was simple: "only in an advanced cultural environment, in a community where the interest in enlightenment in all respects is more intense, can the elite individual have more opportunities to flourish than in an environment where the masses are kept in ignorance." [28] Such a model can be "a point of attraction for our culture, which often neglects the masses." The author concluded that only educated people could create social awareness to watch over the consolidation of state life and support public spirit in culture.[29]

The article outlines a real project for the development of Romanian-American cultural relations: 1. To disseminate "cultural, scientific and philosophical productions by young people in the United States" through the press; 2. To facilitate as much as possible the young people's study journeys to the United States, mentioning the Rockefeller scholarships in the fields of medical, physical-mathematical, and social sciences; 3. Facilities and scholarships for young Americans who wanted to study Romanian culture; 4 the introduction of Romanian language and literature courses at Harvard and Johns Hopkins universities; 5. organizing courses about American culture in Romanian cultural institutions; 6. mobilization of the Romanian community and the Romanians who studied in the USA.

The image of American universities in the Romanian press was also gradually built through travelogues. Owing to his European academic culture and experience, the most authoritative connoisseur was Petre Comarnescu, the author of several books and studies about US universities: *Homo americanus* (1933), *Zgârie-norii New Yorkului* (*Skyscrapers of New York*, 1933), *America*

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[28] Ibid, 7.

[29] Ibid.

văzută de un tânăr de azi (*America Seen by a Young Man Today*, 1934), *Chipurile și priveliștele Americii* (*The Faces and Sights of America*, 1940), *America: Lumea nouă – Viața nouă* (*America: New World – New Life*, 1947). According to Dorian Branea, he was an author for whom travel represented an experience of knowledge and self-knowledge.[30] With a scholarship awarded by Helen Kimberly Clark, Comarnescu was one of the first Romanians to obtain a bachelor's degree in the USA. Between 1929–1931, he studied at the University of Southern California and Los Angeles, where he wrote a thesis on *The Nature of Beauty and Its Relation to Goodness* (*Natura frumosului și relația lui cu binele*), published in Romanian with the title *Kalokagathon. Elemente estetice al eticii* (*Kalokagathon. Aesthetic elements of ethics,* 1936, 1946).[31]

In his article "University City. Theoretical and concrete documentation on university cities abroad and the possibilities of achievement with us"[32] (published in the magazine *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* (*Archive for Science and Social Reform*), Comarnescu proposed a radiography of the birth, historical evolution and profile of the universities in Great Britain and the USA.[33] From the very beginning, following the model of universities in Great Britain and the USA, Comarnescu emphasized that:

> The idea of the University City consists of concentrating all university and student institutions in a single group of buildings, placed in a healthy place and according to the educational purpose, because in this way a coherent and creative university life can be created.[34]

Moving from the idea of space to the spiritual mission of the university, under the power of the British and American university model, Comarnescu noted that the ideal of the university "is to make every student a personality,

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[30] Dorian Branea, *Statele Unite ale Românilor. Cărțile călătoriilor românești în America în secolul XX* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2017), 37.

[31] Ibid, 101–2

[32] Original Romanian: "Cetatea universitară. Documentări teoretice și concrete asupra cetăților universitare din străinătate și asupra posibilităților de realizare la noi."

[33] Petre Comarnescu, "Cetatea universitară. Documentări teoretice și concrete asupra cetăților universitare din străinătate și asupra posibilităților de realizare la noi," *Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială* XI, no. 1–4 (1933):188–209. Our translations from Romanian.

[34] Ibid, 188.

that is, an individual prepared not only intellectually, but also morally and physically." It was an achievable ideal provided that the student was allowed to choose the subject matter of his study to follow his vocation but also to "acquire a humanistic vision of the world as well as a moral independence, which is based on the trust of the individual in his own strength."[35]

An entire chapter is devoted to American universities, created by graduates of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. First, Harvard University was given as an example. Built in 1636, it was the only university in the USA for half a century.[36] In 1638, John Harvard, a Puritan priest from England who lived for only one year in the Massachusetts colony, gave the university half of his real estate and library of three hundred volumes. It was why the Constitutional Court decided that the university should bear his name.[37] The university library grew from three hundred volumes to two and a half million in the interwar period.

American universities, as Petre Comarnescu pointed out, were created by various churches and "sects," Protestant denominations, and by the state and several rich people: Harvard and Yale at the initiative of the congregations, Columbia at the initiative of Episcopalians, Princeton at the initiative of the Presbyterians, Sothern California by the Methodists. Among the universities created by the state were: University of Virginia, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, etc. Some were established by foundations and independent of the state and the churches, for example, Cornell, John Hopkins, Leland Stanford. A particular case was the University of Chicago, created by John Rockefeller with the contribution of 600,000 dollars, to which was added an amount of 400,000 dollars from the citizens of the city of Chicago. To emphasize the idea of a university city, Comarnescu mentioned that most of them were built on the outskirts of cities, with a few exceptions like Columbia University in New York, which was built within the city radius,

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[35] Ibid, 192.
[36] Jill Lepore, *Aceste adevăruri, O istorie a Statelor Unite* (Bucharest: Trei, 2022), 66.
[37] Comarnescu, "Cetatea universitară," 195.

on a hill. Comarnescu included the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, where he studied, which was also founded within the city.

Each university was built around an inner courtyard, with buildings where the faculties worked. There were dormitories where the students were distributed according to their years of study. There were special dormitories for married students. Those who did not have a place in the dormitories lived in houses near the University or in Boston. There were also libraries and museums in the university space, with departments of zoology, botany, archeology, etc.

In his study of the universities in England and the United States, Petru Comarnescu endorsed the idea of university city, which created a community by bringing together students and teachers within its walls.

> From my own experiences, I found that American students in University Cities are more open-minded, more tolerant of differences, and more communicative, precisely because coming into contact with each other and belonging to so many races, nationalities, cultures, regions, and social classes, they allow themselves to be permeated by the differences between people, and begin to appreciate them, to judge them.[38]

The open spirit of communication, concluded Comarnescu, created an independent student and, at the same time, an associate of his teachers and colleagues. In contrast, the French student placed the intellectual category above all others in Europe. The German student "is somewhat more metaphysical and abstract than the French." The American student is not an intellectual "par excellence," but above all, he is a personality.

Compared to the British and American student model, in the Romanian university, Comarnescu noted, more attention was paid to the intellectual training of the youth while insufficiently concerned with the organization of their moral and physical exercise, a fact that had harmful repercussions on the entire Romanian social life.[39] Moreover, he returned to American society, which characterized education in a democratic spirit in "university

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[38] Ibid, 201.
[39] Ibid, 206.

cities," "which demands from the student not so much obedience as understanding and cooperation, and does not aim to impose any idea on him by force."[40]

In his book *Homo Americanus*, Comarnescu identified the traits of the university "professor" and the American "student," insisting especially on the teacher's personality. From the beginning, he categorically highlighted the role of the American university scholar's personality: "You can easily mistake the psychology of a Democratic politician with that of a Republican politician; but it is not allowed to overlap the characteristics, almost opposite, of the two types that characterize education."[41]

To illustrate the American teacher type, he had two professors in view with opposite intellectual traits. First, he introduced Professor Emory G. Clark, characterized as "almost a producer of ideas and books." A professor at the age of thirty, he was the head of the Department of Sociology. As a poor young man, he worked at the post office, then as a waiter and a lifeguard on the beach. He was reading enormously and appreciated the students' work. He recommended books for them to present at seminars, appreciating how he summarized them more thoroughly and conscientiously. Thus, Comarnescu noted, the students kept him up to date with all the works of the European, Chinese, Arab great thinkers, etc.[42] He published a book annually. The whole family worked for him, his wife stayed up late at night to transcribe chapters and articles he wrote. He did not attend church; he did not read literature. The professor's ideal of life was summed up in the words: "I believe in methodical and intensive work and in democracy based on education and science."[43]

The second professor, with a different profile, was Clarence Tyller Hollands, "who looks like a Southern planter and disciplined like a medieval

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[40] Ibid, 207.
[41] Comarnescu, *Homo Americanus* (Bucharest: Vremea, 1933), 89.
[42] Ibid, 91.
[43] Ibid, 95.

student." [44] His thinking was at such a high and synthetic level that he could give brilliant courses in Ethics, Metaphysics, Anthropology, Social Values as in Personalism or Philosophy of Religions. He was fifty years old but had written only two books: *Nature and Spirit* and *Nonviolent Coercion*. In Comarnescu's opinion, his spirit was devoid of any kind of prejudice, who drew values out of tradition without the guilt of that "terrible stupid abuse, which in America takes the form of complete denial of tradition, for its harmful elements […]."[45] He was a faithful man: He believed in "God, but also in man, as a possibility of achievement and joy."[46] In conclusion, Comarnescu thought,

> […] along with the active and technical efficiency of four or five Clark Doctors, there is at least one Doctor Hollands, who will guard the integrity of the spirit, the balance between thought and deed, between quality and quantity, between intellectual aristocracy and political democracy, – in such a way that these partial aspects infiltrate and fertilize a better world, striving towards ideal perfection.[47]

Of the two types of academics, one creator of ideas, books, and experiments with a positivist orientation, another intelligent erudite lacking social skill, Comarnescu preferred the second. The conclusion of the young Romanian philosopher was that:

> The fate of America depends to a large extent on the teacher. And as in America the teacher devotes himself to his mission, whether as Dr. Clark or as Dr. Hollands, – it can be anticipated that the America of tomorrow will mean the breaking of the white boundaries to a wider and more authentic life. If American idealism has a meaning, then it has it, above all else, in the great and progressive concern to educate and perfect its citizens.[48]

In the same vein of capturing the American spirit in universities at the student level, Comarnescu offered us the university life of the young Henri

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid, 96
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid, 99.
[48] Ibid, 100.

Sanders as an example. To familiarize ourselves with life in American universities during the interwar period, we will reproduce a fragment from the introductory part of the chapter dedicated by Comarnescu to "The Student:"

> Ten in the morning. In front of the University, built simply and austerely like an Anglican church, a joyful and confident youth plays everywhere, along with the sun's rays. Hundreds of students, grouped by fraternities, classes, or interests of flirtation and study, converse loudly and unassertively on the broad and vaulted staircases or strolling on the light green grass, guarded by upright palms, and as absent from human chatter as those Athenian columns, without life, without death, aiming for eternity. It is the break, and it gathers students from architecture, medicine, philosophy, letters, dentistry, law from all the neighboring buildings. The University campus is represented as in an official parade.[49]

Student Henri Sanders was a young man who followed his possibilities, as guided by his Puritan beliefs. He was an American student, "less standardized in his attitude and even in his views than the student from the English aristocracy, the French bourgeoisie or the Romanian peasantry."[50]

American students from diverse backgrounds and ethnicities, as Comarnescu stated, brought great diversity to university life. The American student was more applied and more concrete. This condition was determined by his Puritan morality and education, which was taking care not only of intellectual training but also of social and concrete training. Tolerance, social solidarity, the spirit of cooperation with their fellows were central to education.[51] Unlike Europe, "where both the meaning of life and the experiences are individual acts, in America, the meaning is individual, but the experience is collective."[52]

Analyzing student Henri Sanders' behavior, Comarnescu found that his existence "is not shaken by the awareness of the limits of human understanding." As in the case of most Americans, they did not know that their

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[49] Ibid, 107.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid, 107–8.
[52] Ibid, 113.

most profound questions had no answers. This was where Americans' optimism and lack of inferiority complex would come. Otherwise, his life seemed out of the movies: Henri was drinking but did not know how to drink. Every Friday night, he went to the city with his girlfriend and sometimes spent the weekend with her on the beach. He was always present at soirees and student balls, where he danced stunningly with Helen,

> […] shaking his body and dragging his feet a little on the parquet floor as shiny as sand under the sun. Jazz made them dizzy, giving them a purely physical euphoria and weighing down their minds. They dance with their cheeks pressed together, thus forming a statuary block of elaborate proportions and volumes... After the dances, Henri and Helen speed off in the car. Henri drives with one hand, the other around his friend's neck. Helen remains dreamy and eager for new parties until the next weekend.[53]

Probably thinking of such images, Comarnescu noted in *America văzută de un tânăr de azi* (*America Seen by a Young Man Today*) that Los Angeles was the city of young people who loved "nature, sports, and romance."[54]

Although the American student seemed intellectually inferior to the European, the young Romanian philosopher believed he would become a decent and useful citizen, perfectly adapted to a solid and competitive industrial society.

In an essay entitled Caracteristicile și năzuințele societății americane (Characteristics and Aspirations of American Society), published in Buletinul Institutului American din România (the Bulletin of the American Institute in Romania), Petre Comarnescu attributed this feature of the American intellectual to pragmatism, born from the Protestant spirit, affirming that all American civilization consisted of the compromise between the eternal and the temporal, mind and things, spiritual wealth and material wealth. At the heart of the American spirit was the "lawyer-pastor" Calvin, from whom they learned that "the success of work and enrichment are blessings from God, and consequently the more prosperous the people the more they

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53 Ibid, 111.

54 Idem, *America văzută de un tânăr de azi* (Bucharest: Adevărul, 1934), 230.

will be able to help the others, what pleases God." Comarnescu concluded, "In America, the church professes a social ethic, rather than a religion for the salvation and individual enlightenment of souls."[55] In America, wealth has become something natural, it has come to the point that Americans no longer believe in poverty, modesty, and introspection but rather in luxury, donations, and ostentatious behavior as a do-gooder.[56]

As a leitmotif, in all the books and articles published on his American experience, Comarnescu emphasized the idea of freedom and democracy that characterized the life of American universities. In an attempt to conclude the observations of the Romanian philosopher regarding the university world, we keep in mind his statement: "Americans do not play with life. You learn a lot at university because time and money invested count."

In the famous book *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880s,* in his analysis of pragmatism in William James' interpretation, Henry Steele Commager highlighted the idea that:

> It was an individualistic philosophy. It assigned to each individual, as it were, a leading role in the drama of salvation, gave him a share and a responsibility in making what he held good come true. It denied him the consolation of unconditional reliance on God or on Nature and decreed that he succeed or fail through his own efforts. It emphasized his uniqueness rather than his conformity, and it encouraged him to put his own faith to the test. It was voluntaristic and raised its armies by enlistment, not by conscription. It was impatient with authority—the authority of history or science or theology—and preferred the teachings of experience to the dictates of logic.[57]

American universities as spaces of knowledge and research are also present in historian Nicolae Iorga's *Travel Notes* (*Note de drum*).[58] The scholar visited America in 1930 and was welcomed as a great academic personality.

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[55] Idem, "Caracteristicile și năzuințele societății americane," *Buletinul Institutului American din România* IV (1937): 60.

[56] Ibid, 62

[57] Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880s* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1959), 95.

[58] Nicolae Iorga, *America și românii din America. Note de drum și conferințe* (Vălenii de Munte: Așezământul Tipografic "Datina Românească," 1930). Our translations from Romanian.

He visited numerous universities at the invitation of several rectors and professors. He was uncompromising about American architecture.[59] Being conservative, Iorga did not admire industrial civilization. During his journey, he also met the representatives of the American Jewish community originating in Romania and declared that "he had been anti-Semite before the war, but that at present he preached nationalism based on the solidarity of all the inhabitants of the country […]."[60] The Rador Agency mentioned that Iorga's denial of his reconcilement with A.C. Cuza, a well-known anti-Semite politician, was favorably commented on in Jewish press editorial articles.[61]

He visited the universities of Columbia, Harvard, Princeton, University of Southern California, Berkeley, or Georgetown, noting everywhere the facilities enjoyed by the students, the libraries, the amphitheaters. At Columbia University, he admired that:

> All around the colleges, students' dormitories can comprise at least a thousand of the four or five thousand who are enrolled -, the restaurant for teachers, the seminaries, the workshops for those of the teaching staff who live away from the city.[62]

While at Johns Hopkins University, he observed that: "What I noticed in the ceremony halls as well as in the ordinary lecture halls is that everything is at the level of the highest modern requirements. The library has perhaps the brightest reading room." At Harvard, the university "is in the tone of the whole city, light fabric of red brick, repeated along several streets,"[63] while the professors lived in the wooden buildings in the neighborhood "which give them air, light, greenery." There were 1,600 professors, including auxiliaries and patrons.

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[59] Branea, *Statele Unite ale Românilor*, 75.

[60] *Arhiva Diplomatică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Washington Fund, vol.191, Dossier *Relațiile culturale între România și SUA, trimiterea de studenți români la studii în SUA* (Cultural Relations between Romania and USA, Romanian students in USA Dossier), 59.

[61] Ibid, 59.

[62] Branea, *Statele Unite ale Românilor*, 75.

[63] Ibid, 160.

In his book *Altă lume. Însemnări dintr-o călătorie în America* (*Another World. Notes from a Journey to America*), published in 1927, another "traveler" in America, V.V. Stanciu, concluded from the beginning that: "America is not sufficiently known for its ever-increasing importance."[64] He offered us one of the most detailed descriptions of the American education system, presenting the entire infrastructure of Columbia University. In what the spirit of tolerance in American universities was concerned, he mentioned that:

> […] near the Faculty of Letters there is a church for students, on which is written: PRO ECLESIA DEI. In the church, services for all religions are held in turn. The House of God alternately becomes a Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox church, synagogue, mosque, pagoda and Buddhist temple.[65]

One of the most competent specialists in American education was philosopher Nicolae Petrescu, with studies at the University of Berlin a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Rostock with the thesis *Glanvill und Hume* (1911). In 1912, he attended philosophy courses at the Collège de France and Sorbonne. Between 1918 and 1919, he lectured in philosophy at Wabash College at the University of Crawfordsville (Indiana). Author of a rich specialized literature, from his experience as a student and teacher in England and the USA, he published the books *Învățământul în Anglia și Statele-Unite,* (*Education in England and the United States,* Bucharest,1924*)* and *Relațiile României cu Statele Unite* (*Romania's Relations with the United States,* 1927).

In his book *Education in England and the United States,* he was concerned with the connection between school and society, whether the school transformed society or society made and transformed the school.[66] Analyzing British society, he was convinced that there was a "good social substrate, a social consciousness on which the school was built, that the education in England and the USA was based on the social education of the people, acquired in the community."

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[64] V.V. Stanciu, *Altă lume. Însemnări dintr-o călătorie în America* (Bucharest: Curierul Judiciar, 1927), 5. Foreword by Radu T. Rosetti.

[65] Ibid, 30.

[66] Nicolae Petrescu, *Învățământul în Anglia și Statele-Unite* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Fundației Culturale Principele Carol, 1924), IV.

He also discovered the same connection in the USA, the intimate relation between school and community, a tendency of the public to adapt education as much as possible to the needs of society, the university curriculum being much more applied than at universities in Europe.[67] He also noted that the relationships between teachers and students were very close. Students enjoyed accommodation in the dormitories, but any deviation, both in studies and in behavior, resulted in exclusion from the dormitories, all being subject to the control of the university authority. In contrast, the federal state had little involvement in the university education system. After the presentation of the education system in America, the author asked himself whether such a system would also be possible in Romania, granting great autonomy to the universities. Petrescu's conclusion was that it would be a disaster.[68]

Nevertheless, Romanians' options for higher education remained fixed in the European university space. Romania was not among the countries that provided a large number of students to American universities. In 1933, the manager of George Washington University, which encouraged the enrolment of Romanian students, mentioned that it had students from 39 countries.[69] From a statistic published by the International Institute of Education regarding the presence of Romanian students abroad, it followed that in 1924, there were 24 students in the USA, 39 in 1925, 28 in 1926, 41 in 1928, 31 in 1930, 22 in 1931, 21 in 1933 and 9 in 1934.[70] Most of the young Romanians were studying at universities in Europe. In 1938, for example, 1,627 young people were studying in Europe: 898 in Germany, 455 in France, and two in the USA.[71] In the 1920s, most young Romanians attended French and German universities. In 1927, about 2,000 Romanian students attended universities in France and seven hundred in Germany.[72] In the 1920s, the French model prevailed, but

[67] Ibid, 25.

[68] Ibid, 43.

[69] Ibid, 194.

[70] *Buletinul Institutului American din România II-III (1935–1936)*: 80–81.

[71] Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari*, 194.

[72] Irina Nastasă- Matei, *Educație, politică și propagandă. Studenți români în Germania nazistă* (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2016), 139.

in the 1930s, the rise of Germany took place, and as a result, the interest of young people in German universities increased.

For Romanians, the chance to study in the USA was the scholarships offered by the Ministry of Public Instruction or other institutions, but especially by foundations and universities in the USA. In 1933, for example, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded three scholarships in the field of Engineering, four in physics-biology, two in sociology, four in history.[73] The secretary of the Romanian Legation in Washington anticipated the support of student exchanges, Americans in Romania, and Romanians in America. He mentioned that Romanian students could study, especially at the universities in Washington, which could offer excellent training conditions in engineering and economics.[74] An address from the Romanian Legation dated September 27, 1926, mentioned that the Romanian Cultural Institute at Columbia University intended to benefit from Queen Marie's visit to the USA to raise the funds necessary to build a home for Romanians, either American subjects or Romanian citizens, entitled the *Romanian Queen Marie House*. It stated that the creation of such a settlement "would be extremely useful for the Romanian intellectual and national spreading on American soil […]."[75] On the occasion of the banquet in honor of Queen Marie given by the George Washington Sulgrave Institution, Professor Frederick Sessions of the New York State School of Agriculture at Morrisville, in the State of New York, presented the Queen in commemoration of Her visit to the USA, with four scholarships for two boys and two girls from Romania for studies in agronomy.[76] As a result, the New York State School of Agriculture awarded four scholarships to Romanian students at the International Institute at Columbia University's Teachers *College*, with the mention that Columbia also offered a scholarship for a doctoral student in political sciences.

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[73] Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari*, 193.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid, 251.

The correspondence of the Romanian Legation in Washington with the Ministry of Public Instruction pointed out excellent mobility at the level of scholarships for the USA. The Romanian State granted some scholarships. In 1929, through the National Bank of Romania, the sum of thirty pounds was granted to the following students: Florian Gâldău, who was studying theology in New York, sent by the Romanian Patriarchate, Radu Hurmuzescu, to study engineering at Cambridge, and Gheorghe Comicescu from Botoșani, for studies in American pedagogy.[77] The Colorado School of Mines offered a scholarship to major in mining. In 1930, Gheorghe Suciu, a natural sciences student in New Jersey, received fifteen pounds per month.[78]

In 1932, the Ministry of Public Instruction and Religious Denominations informed Paul Monroe, Director of the Teachers College of the International Institute at Columbia University, that Gheorghe Comicescu from Botoșani was nominated for the "Macy Grant" scholarship, with a specialization in American pedagogy. An Assistant professor at the University of Cluj followed practice at the Institute of Psychology under the direction of Professor William Stern from Hamburg.[79] The scholarship was worth $1,200 for a nine-month period plus three hundred dollars for the application fee.[80] In the same year, 1928, the Colorado School of Mines offered an Engineering student a scholarship through the Ministry of Public Instruction. The competition was held on July 5, with candidates examined in English, drawing, mathematics, chemistry, physics, geology, and mineralogy. The scholarship was awarded to the student Ionescu I. Ioan, a graduate of the School of Mining from St. Etienne, France. In 1930, Harvard University established sixty scholarships, including five scholarships of nine hundred dollars and fifty-five of four hundred dollars.

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[77] *Arhiva Diplomatică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe* (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Washington Fund, vol. 190, Dossier *Relațiile Culturale româno-americane în domeniul educației și învățământului, probleme generale 1933–1940* (Romanian-American Cultural Relations in the Field of Education and Training, General Problems 1933–1940 Dossier).

[78] Ibid, fascicle 321.

[79] Ibid, fascicle 365.

[80] Ibid, fascicle 366.

For these scholarships, sixty-one countries were invited to send one student enrolled at the law school.[81]

In 1927, the Romanian National Bank granted 48 pounds to Mihai Drăcea, an engineering student in Madison, Wisconsin, and to Radu Hurmuzescu, a student in Boston.[82] In 1928, medical students D. Bagdasar, Florica Bagdasar, Mihai Drăcea in engineering, and Radu Hurmuzescu in science were granted sixty pounds.[83] The engineer Mircea Raul Andreescu was following a specialization in America, receiving 377.66 dollars from the Romanian Government in June 1927. The Legation was asked to help him to complete his mission.[84] In 1927, Dimitrie Gusti recommended Aurelian Ion Popescu, a Ph.D. student in philosophy, for the "Macy Grant" awarded by *Teachers College* at *Columbia University* in New York. The student George T. Motoc, who studied the last year in Metallurgy at *the Carnegie Institute of Technology*, Pittsburgh, was asking for help to finish his studies. He was born in Bucharest and went to the USA in 1921 to study at Carnegie. After attending the American school for a year, he was employed at the Canton Ohio Steel Works, working evenings and nights. However, the company downsized and laid him off. He needed help to finish his studies and get his engineering degree.[85]

In 1924, at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian Legation in Washington sent the list of the 31 Romanian students studying in the USA.[86] In the International Institute of Education statistics, as shown above, there were only twenty-four students. The difference was probably due to the exclusive addition of students of Romanian ethnicity. In 1926, students Ciocâlteu Cornelia, in medicine, Litarczek Stela, in medicine, and

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81 Ibid, fascicle 387.

82 Idem, vol.192, *Relațiile culturale între România și SUA, trimiterea de studenți români la studii în SUA* (Cultural Relations between Romania and USA, Romanian students in USA), fascicle 5.

83 Ibid, fascicle 24.

84 Ibid, fascicle 29.

85 Ibid, fascicle 143.

86 Idem, Washington, Fund vol.191, *Relațiile culturale între România și SUA, trimiterea de studenți români la studii în SUA*, 1924–1927 (Cultural Relations between Romania and USA, Romanian students in USA, 1924–1927 Dossier).

Mateescu Decebal, at the School of Mines, received scholarships through the Romanian National Bank.[87]

For the strategies promoted by various foundations, such as Rockefeller, an interesting case was of student Emil Tătar Faur, the son of a priest sent to the USA by the Metropolitan Church of Transylvania, studying electrical engineering at Akron Ohio University. The Ministry of Public Instruction requested the Romanian Legation in Washington to intervene with the Rockefeller Foundation to grant him a scholarship.[88] It was refused because the Foundation awarded scholarships only to people employed in the medical service. The Rockefeller Foundation was much more generous in the case of medical and engineering scholarships, majoring in the oil industry.

The foundation was created on May 14, 1913, with a capital of 3,200,000 dollars when the charter was adopted.[89] Its mission was to contribute to the recovery of the world in the post-war period, in conditions where poverty and the losses caused by the war did not allow the treatment and eradication of serious diseases. It aimed to "promote the well-being of mankind" throughout the world. [90]

It worked in Romania since 1924. In 1924, 864 people from thirty-three countries received distinct scholarships from the Rockefeller Foundation, Poland 45, Yugoslavia 36, Hungary 33, Brazil 21, Czechoslovakia 21, Canada 16, Austria 13, Romania 13.[91]

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[87] Ibid, fascicle 54.

[88] Ibid, fascicle 65

[89] The Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report 1913–1914*, 7, https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Annual-Report-1913–1914–1.pdf. See *Annual Reports and Diaries, Collection of Reports RG 10 (Record Group) Subgroup 2*, Rockefeller Archive Center, https://rockarch.org/,containing approximately 105 fellowship cards registered between 1919 and 1979 by Rockefeller officers. See for details Cornel Sigmirean, Carmen Andraș, "Negocieri academice româno-americane: Sabin Manuilă în arhivele Fundației Rockefeller," ["Romanian-American Academic Negotiations: Sabin Manuilă in Rockefeller Foundation Archives"], *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane "Gheorghe Șincai,"* XXV (2022): 255–82.

[90] Benjamin B. Page, "The Rockefeller Foundation and Central Europe: A Reconsideration," *Minerva* 40, no. 3 (2002): (265–87) 266.

[91] The Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report 1924*, 48. https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Annual-Report-1924–1.pdf. See Sigmirean, Andraș, "Negocieri academice româno-americane."

In Romania, for example, in the period between 1923–1950, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded the following scholarships in Biomedicine and Health: 25 in public health, 16 in nursing, 25 in medical sciences, and five in natural sciences (biochemistry, biology, biophysics).[92] Among the students of the Rockefeller Foundation were sociologist Anton Golopenția, Doctor Sabin Manuilă, psychologist Nicolae Mărgineanu, mathematician Grigore Moisil (educated in Rome), etc.

At the current level of research, we do not have complete statistics on the presence of Romanian students in American universities during the interwar period. But we can highlight the fact that America has convincingly entered the map of university routes frequented by Romanians. Through more than two hundred Romanians who studied across the Ocean, besides the Rockefeller students, Romanian society established a channel for receiving the American spirit, the American model, completing the image of America promoted through the press and cinematography. Romania was increasingly located in the academic network of the civilized world, gradually modeling Romanian institutions, as in the case of the students in the health system and the oil industry, after the experiences of American science and technology. Unfortunately, the installation of the totalitarian communist regime interrupted communication with the American model, and the messengers of the American spirit were largely marginalized, some being excluded from cultural and scientific life, as in the dramatic case of the psychologist Nicolae Mărgineanu or the sociologist Anton Golopenția.

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[92] William H. Schneider (ed.), *Rockefeller Philanthropy and Modern Biomedicine* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002), 47.

ANNEX
Examples of Romanian Students at American Universities in 1924

1. Adrica, Teodor, philosophy, post-graduate course, Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, OH.
2. Barbura, Ioan, industrial engineering, Municipal University of Akron, OH.
3. Belian, Radu, domestic law, political sciences, post-graduate course, Columbia University, New York.
4. Botez, G., third year, Y.M.C.A. Springfield College, MA.
5. Buțiu, Const., electrical engineering, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA.
6. Cohen, Simon, University of Kansas, Kansas City, MO.
7. Conașa, Ioan, automotive mechanics, Youngstown Institute of Technology, OH.
8. Cora, A.M., industrial engineering, Municipal University of Akron, OH.
9. Danciu, George, electrical engineering, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
10. David, Magdalena, third year, letters, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH.
11. Dimăncesu, I., Y.M.C.A. Springfield College, MA.
12. Dimitriu, Emanoil, civil engineer, post-graduate course (higher), Columbia University, New York.
13. Faur, Emil, electrical engineering, Columbia University, New York.
14. Floco, Nick, Youngstown Institute of Technology, OH.
15. Goldstein, Eugen, chemistry, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA.
16. Ionescu, A. Alexandru, oil and gas, University of Pittsburgh, PA.
17. Kron, Ioseph, mechanical engineering, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
18. Maximilian, Ioachim, automobile engineering, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA.
19. Meteș, Ioan, electrical engineering, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
20. Morar, Margareta, pedagogy, Municipal University of Akron, OH.
21. Motoc, T. George, metallurgy, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA.

22. Prie, Adam A., philosophy, post-graduate course, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, OH.
23. Rusu, Leon, electrical engineering, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA.
24. Scheimowitz, Teodore, literature, University of Pittsburgh, PA.
25. Schwartz, J.J., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
26. Schwartz, Francisca, architecture, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, PA.
27. Solomon, Maurice, University Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
28. Stăncescu, E. Virginia, international law, George Washington University, Washington D.C.
29. Stăncescu, Emil, George Washington University, Washington D.C.
30. Todea, Victor, sciences, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
31. Vas, Ioan, medicine, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

The Project of Romania's Participation in the Chicago World's Fair in 1933: Some Unpublished Documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Laurențiu Vlad

An Introduction

Looking for new information about Romania's participation in the New York World's Fair (1939–1940) in the Washington fund from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I found in volume 212[1] a series of documents (official and private correspondence, press articles, event programs, etc.), which we publish in part below, and which bring to the fore fore an amount of data regarding the Romanian presence at another Fair organized across the ocean, namely at the Chicago one in 1933.

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1 Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive (henceforth AMAE), Washington fund, the Romania – USA issue, cultural issues, regarding Romania's Participation in the World's Fair organized in New York in 1939 (vol. 1), 1937–1938, vol. 212. We do not know if it is an error in the placement of documents relating to the New York World's Fair in Chicago in this file, which is marked as extreme years 1937–1938, when we are dealing with data coming from the years 1933. The caution that we take with the present note is also because volumes 210 and 211 have documents that refer to Fair manifestations prior to the one in 1939, but which, certainly, do not have the scope of those in Chicago or New York. It is about the fairs in Cleveland (Ohio) from the 1930s, in which the Romanian community in the United States participates with exhibits, Fairs that are not listed in the nomenclature of the Bureau International des Expositions, because they did not meet the conditions of the Convention signed in 1928; See for this nomenclature, the site https://www.bie-paris.org/site/fr/expo-index (Accessed September 29, 2023).

It is a moment too little investigated in the history of Romanian-American relations or Romanian participation in universal Fairs. We note here the few lines dedicated to this aspect by Nicolae Dascălu in *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919–1939 (Romania's Image in the United States of America in the Interwar Era, 1919–1939)*.[2] It was a correspondence between the Bucharest Press Office and one of Romania's diplomatic representatives in Washington, George Boncescu (appointed around 1927),[3] relative to the possible official participation in the demonstration in Chicago. Also, the symbolic subsidy granted by Bucharest officials to the Romanian-Americans, who organized "Romanian Day" in Chicago (September 3, 1933), was evoked, as well as the presence of several twenty-five volumes signed by women from Romania. The stands I was referring to were placed under the auspices of the International Women's Congress, which took place in Chicago in July 1933,[4] a manifestation associated with the ongoing world's fair.

It is also important to note that the details presented by Nicolae Dascălu came from files 650, 901, and 1074 from the Ministry of National Propaganda fund (Propaganda section). Of course, they have been repeated by the author, in whole or in part, in other publications.

Finally, we must state in our introduction that the data collected from the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on this occasion is partial, disparate, and does not currently paint the whole picture.. We inventory them as such, signaling the subject and trace around them an outline of a narrative that will in time be significantly enriched and that will constitute a preamble to our final volume in the UEFISCDI project in which we now find ourselves, *Etosul educației și dialogului: Negocieri culturale româno-americane (1920–1940)*/

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2 Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919–1939* (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 1998), 206, 207.

3 George Boncescu was Romania's press attaché in Washington in the period 1927–1938. He was also involved in Romanian propaganda in the United States, at the same time fulfilling the duties of the Legation's financial adviser. For a short time, he is transferred to Paris in April 1938 to return to Washington in September of the same year as a financial adviser. See Ibid., 108–110.

4 See Wally Dr. Gh. Alexandrescu, "Congresul Internațional al Femeilor dela Chicago," *Buletinul Institutului American din România*, I, 1 (January1934): (30–44) 41.

The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940), indicated in the inaugural note of this text, volume with the theme of Romania's presence at the New York World's Fair of 1939–1940.

Some Information on the Chicago World's Fair (1933)[5]

The 1933 Chicago World's Fair, which celebrated the city's centennial (and was officially called *A Century of Progress*), was exceptionally organized under the auspices of the influence of science and technology in everyday life, less so in terms of the effects of scientific and technical progress on social and political life.

The pavilions and Fair stands occupied 426 acres (1,724 square kilometers) in Burham Park along Lake Michigan (Lakefront, Northerly Island). 1933 was the year of the Great Economic Crisis therefore, the number of participants in this event was limited, only 19 countries of the world were officially present in Chicago (Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Germany, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Great Britain, Mexico, Norway, Palestine, Dominican Republic, Spain, United States of America, and Sweden; Argentina, Cuba, France, Lithuania, Persia, Romania, and Turkey initially

[5] General Fair data in this section was taken from: https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/1933-chicago (Accessed September 26, 2023), Chicago World's Fair 1933, Century of Progress Exposition (americasbesthistory.com) (Accessed September 26, 2023), respectively Erik Mattie, *World's Fairs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 161–5 or John E. Findling, *Chicago, 1933–1934*, în *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, (North Carolina, and London: Jefferson and MacFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 268–77; foreword by Vicente Gonzáles Loscertales. Over time, several independent studies or special chapters in volumes have been dedicated to the Universal Fair of 1933 (see also the bibliography of the above-mentioned text by John E. Findling), among which we mention those authored by Anne Rasmussen, Brighitte Schroeder-Gudehus, *Les fastes du progrès. Le guide des expositions universelles, 1851–1992* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 183–6; Robert W. Rydell, John E. Findlind, Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America. World's Fair in United States* (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), third chapter; Sandro Fusina, *Expo. Esposizioni universali da Londra 1851 a Roma 1942* (Milano: Il Foglio, 2011), 126–43, Cheryl R. Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair. A Century of Progress* (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2012), Bill Cotter, *Chicago's 1933–34 World's Fair. A Century of Progress* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2015), – the latter a popularization book, etc.

accepted the invitation extended by President Roosevelt on January 10, 1930, but later they withdrew, giving way, some of them, to private initiatives to represent them).[6]

The idea of organizing an international Fair on the centennial of the city of Chicago can be found in the late 1920s in the discussions of the authorities and the community in general. In January 1928, there was an organizing committee with Rufus C. Dawes, an oil businessman, as chairman, and a few months later, in April, this body elected Lenox, R. Lohr, former career military person, as general manager of the World's Fair (he was administratively assisted by Martha McGrew).

The Fair was open between May 27 and November 12, 1933, when 22,568,859 visitors passed by the Fair stands (paying, only 245,403 tickets were not used; in total, there were more than 27,700,000). The event's success and the proceeds from 1933 led the organizers to reopen the Fair in June–October 1934, during which almost 16,500,000 paying visitors crossed its threshold (more than 21,000,000 were registered in total). They enjoyed the attractions of the Fair, including the General Motors and Ford pavilions, the Belgian Village, or the Goodyear airship, which made short flights with visitors.

Let us also say that the financing of the Fair mainly was done through private initiatives. For example, in 1928, *Chicago World's Fair Legion* society member certificates were put on sale, which cost $5 each, the equivalent of ten admissions; 634,000 dollars were collected on that occasion, ensuring significant publicity for the event. Also, because of a public subscription in 1932, even amid the economic crisis, the officials of the Fair benefited from more than 7,000,000 dollars, to which was added, among other things, a 1,000,000 grant from the federal government for the American pavilion's construction, about the same amount from the contributions of the participants from abroad for the construction of their own representative edifices, etc. Ultimately, the whole event had a profit of about 160,000 dollars.

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[6] In 1934 the countries with Fair stands were: Canada, Czechoslovakia, China, Denmark, Egypt, Greece, Honduras, Ireland (*Irish Free State*), Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Spain, United States and Sweden.

Romania and Romanians at Chicago World's Fair (1933): A Partially Fulfilled Project

In January 1931, the diplomatic representation of the United States of America in Romania sent the authorities in Bucharest the invitation to participate in the Chicago fair.[7]

Unfortunately, the Romanian government declined the invitation, probably for financial reasons (the world was going through a tremendous economic crisis at the time, as is known). Nevertheless, it left room for private initiatives to organize the Romanian presence in Chicago in the year celebrating the Centennial of the city's founding. Thus, an independent committee, under the presidency of aviation colonel Ștefan Tătărescu,[8] who was the head of the ARPA Society, took the initiative to represent Romania at the Chicago World's Fair.[9] Around the end of 1932, president of the American Institute in Romania was informed by a certain Paul Donici, a contributor to the journal *America*, edited with the support of Romanians in the United States, that

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7 Cited in Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919–1939*, 206.

8 Ștefan Tătărescu (1889–1970), aviation colonel, large landowner in Dragășani and Poiana (Dolj county), one of the brothers of Gheorghe Tătărescu, the liberal leader, also Prime Minister of Romania (1934–1937, 1939–1940). He founded the pro-Nazi National Socialist Party in 1932 (also see his volume from the same year titled *Crez nou (New Creed)*, where he would have presented his profession of faith), and then he was active in the National Liberal Party, from which he was a deputy. He was also a National Peasant Party deputy. He also wrote *O țară însângerată (A bloody country)* (1926), the *Sovietele în fața războiului de mâine (Soviets in front of Tomorrow's War)* (1929), as well as several plays (in collaboration with Ion Al. George). He was arrested between 1950 and 1957. Information from the CNSAS Archive (Archive, Documentary fund, regarding the special College of the MSS minutes, decided to be deployed, in 1953, 9), http://www.cnsas.ro/documente/colonii%20munca/D%20008618%20Watermark.pdf (Accessed October 10, 2023), and Sorin Popescu, "Familia Tătărescu", *Memoria* 86, 1 (2014): (79–84) 82, https://www.revistamemoria.ro/nr-86–1-2014/ (Accessed October 10, 2023).

9 Among Ștefan Tătărescu's collaborators, we mention N. Constantin, C.H. Dimitriu or Eugen Varna (see AMAE, Washington fund, Romania–USA issue, vol. 212, response to ministerial address no. 60852 / November 22, 1932, signed by Frederic Nanu, addressed to Minister Nicolae Titulescu (5760/X28A / December 27, 1932), 4 pages, 2–3). See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 2.

Tătărescu's initiative aimed to place some peasant homes in Chicago in the space reserved for Romania, representing all areas of the country; the financial effort of this arrangement would have amounted to approximately thirty million lei.[10]

If the above-mentioned document referred to moral support from the Romanian government,[11] in an address signed by diplomatic advisor Frederic Nanu, who is on his second career mission in Washington,[12] that was sent to Minister Nicolae Titulescu, this was no longer specified. On the contrary, the non-involvement of the Bucharest authorities in any form was explicitly emphasized, and this situation, the sender of the document showed, had been brought to the attention of both the American Organizing Committee of the Chicago fair and Paul Tomy, a businessman in the fields of real estate and insurance, the president of the Romanian Organizing Committee in the United States,[13] who had undertaken to support the Romanian representation at the

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[10] Ibid, report sent by Paul Donici to the American Institute in Romania president, December 14, 1932, unpaged. See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 1.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Frederic C. Nanu, son of the diplomat Constantin C. Nanu, was born in Paris in 1894, being a law graduate at the University of Paris – Sorbonne (1916). He held various positions in the central administration, but also at the Romanian legations in London (1919–1922) or Washington (1922–1926, 1929–1934). In 1937 he became Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, then held the same position in Helsinki (1939), Madrid (1939) and Stockholm (1943). He was among the government negotiators from Bucharest to Stockholm for Romania's exit from the alliance with Hitler's Germany and association with the United Nations (1943–1944). He authored two volumes, namely *Condica tratatelor și altor legăminte ale României, 1354–1937 (Ledger of Romania's Treaties and Other Covenants, 1354–1937)* (1938–1943) și *Politica externă a României, 1918–1933 (Romania's Foreign Policy 1918–1933)* (remained as a manuscript; published only in 1933 at the European Institute in Iași). He passed away in 1991 in Spain. Information taken from the chapter dedicated to Frederic Nanu by Andrei Alexandru Căpușan, *Diplomați români de elită*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Ars Docendi, 2009), (144–145) 149.

[13] Paul D. Tomy was assisted in the committee's activity by Nicolae Muntean, John L. Spurnick, John G. Cholak, George Furnariu or Funariu (vice-presidents), Alexander Sage (secretary) and Ștefan Cholak (treasurer). It was mentioned in the letterheads that came from this committee and the Reverend St. At. Opreanu, a kind of honorary president. And in *Program of the Romanian People's Day at the World's Fair. Sunday, September Third* (Chicago: f.a., 1933), 15, the priest Victor Bărbulescu, Alexandra Cosor, Sam Marghitan, Nicolae Smed and Alexandru Suciu were also mentioned.

above-mentioned event.[14] The document also contained a series of reports regarding various actions of some members or alleged members of the Tătărescu Committee, which only compromised its activity but also that of the Tomy Committee; such situations made Frederic Nanu conclude that the decision for the government, not even to give moral support to private initiatives to represent Romania at the Chicago fair was an appropriate one.[15]

Therefore, the Romanian presence in Chicago in 1933 was unofficial, determined by private initiatives of the committees chaired by Ștefan Tătărescu and Paul Tomy.[16] During the spring of that year, several selections were made of products/objects that could be taken to the Chicago Centennial Fair; they were specific products of the rural household industry (carpets, barks, fabrics, ceramics, icons – preferably small, with a low price, but in large stocks, so that they could be sold), as well as traditional costumes from all regions of Romania.[17]

But, as I said before, since it was not an official participation, Romanian government representatives did not get involved in such initiatives, except in a few situations when they were invited.

This is what happened, for example, in June 1933, when, on the occasion of the International Women's Congress, an event included in the Chicago Centennial Fair, the Legation in Washington requested the State Secretariat for Press and Information (Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs) books written

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14 AMAE, Washington fund, the Romania – USA issue, vol. 212, response to ministerial address no. 60852 / November 22, 1932, signed by Frederic Nanu, addressed to Minister Nicolae Titulescu (5760/X28A / December 27, 1932),4 pages, 1 – See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 2.

15 Ibid, 1, 3.

16 Princess Cantacuzino, Wally Alexandrescu, Ch. Galitzi participated in the congress from Romania, the conferences and papers presented by them being subsidized by the Bucharest Press Directorate with 28,500 lei. Cited in Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919–1939*, 134.

17 AMAE, Washington fund, the Romania–USA issue, cultural issues, regarding Romania's Participation in the World's Fair organized in New York in 1939, vol. 212, press article (fragment), "Participarea României la Expoziția mondială din Chicago," *Dimineața* (March 30, 1933): unpaged.

by well-known Romanian culture authors.[18] The telegram of June 14 received a reply dated June 28, registered at the legation on July 14, the reply also accompanied by twenty-five volumes.[19] There were books by Princess Bibescu, Queen Marie, Otilia Cazimir, Bucurea Dumbravă, Cora Irineu, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, etc. (see the complete list in document no. 4, which we reproduce below). These volumes were included in some specialized stands located in the halls of the Palmer Hotel, which included two thousand works signed by women.[20] The stand of Romanian women writers was organized by Patricia Dimitriu, former American Women's Pen Club vice-president, who also held a conference about the exhibited writings.[21]

Bucharest government officials were also minimally involved when the committee chaired by Paul Tomy requested financial support of 2,500 dollars, although even a thousand were very welcome, as was said in the correspondence between the latter and the Legation of Romania from Washington

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[18] Ibid, Telegram from June 14, 1933, signed by press adviser G. Boncescu, of the Romanian Legation in Washington, addressed to the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs – State Secretariat of Press and Information, unpaged. – See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 4.

[19] Ibid, Reply of June 28, 1933, to the June 14 telegram, signed by Al. Busuioceanu, registered at the Romanian Legation in Washington on July 14, unpaged – See the *Documentary* section, no. 5. In Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919–1939*, 207, the existence of fifteen other papers was mentioned, likely sent by the Romanian Academy. Al. Busuioceanu (1896–1961) was a historian and art critic, writer, with humanistic studies in Vienna and Paris, a doctorate at the University of Bucharest and a consistent activity in the field of Romanian and Spanish letters, especially since he settled in the Iberian Peninsula after serving as cultural adviser in Madrid (1942). From around 1929, he was found, together with other people of culture, such as Vladimir Dumitrescu, Zaharia Stancu, Ștefan Nenițescu, Ilarie Voronca, Radu Vulpe, etc., within the Directorate, which later became the State Secretariat of Press and Information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he dealt, as head of service or deputy director, with external propaganda. In 1940, in the Ministry of National Propaganda he became its general secretary and director of the studies and documentation department. The data related to Busuioceanu were selected from Remus Zăstroiu, "Alexandru Busuioceanu," *Anuarul de lingvistică și istorie literară*, XLI-XLII (2002–2003): 206–16 and Nicolae Ureche, *Propaganda externă a României Mari, 1918–1940* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2015), 49–51.

[20] Alexandrescu, "Congresul Internațional al Femeilor dela Chicago," 41.

[21] Ibid.

since August 1933.[22] The money was requested to organize *Romanian Day,* established on September 3. It was awarded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the State Secretariat of Press and Information, a modest amount of five hundred dollars.[23]

However, there were also moments when the Washington Legation declined its competence following the request of various individuals, Romanians from America who wanted to participate with exhibits in the stands in Chicago, who asked for information about the access procedures to the *Romania Pavilion*. Significant in this sense is the answer addressed to a certain Petrel Boldika (July 1933), who was told that there was no Romanian pavilion at the Chicago World's Fair, and if he wanted to exhibit objects in the organized stands, he had to get in touch with Paul Tomy and the committee of Romanian Americans, which he chairs.[24]

On September 3, 1933, the festivities dedicated to *Romanian Day* began within the framework of the universal Fair. At the same time, other events of the Romanians in the United States of America were taking place in Chicago: it was about a series of meetings of their various bodies, a student congress and one of the Baptists, as we learn from the invitations that the Paul Committee Tomy addressed them in July 1933 to the Minister of Romania in Washington at that time, Carol Davila,[25] as well as to Iuliu Maniu, former Bucharest government prime minister.[26]

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[22] AMAE, Washington fund, Romania–USA issue, vol. 212, letter from the World's Fair Romanian Committee president, Paul Tomy, addressed to the Minister of Romania in Washington, August 5, 1933, unpaged. – See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 6.

[23] Nicolae Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari în Statele Unite ale Americii în perioada interbelică, 1919–1939*, 206.

[24] AMAE, Washington fund, Romania–USA issue, vol. 212, correspondence between Petre Boldika and the Romanian Legation in Washington from July 12 and 20, 1933, unpaged. – See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 7.

[25] Carol Davila (1888–1963) served as Minister of Romania in Washington during the period 1929–1938. He was the son of the playwright Alexandru Davila (also for a while in the diplomatic service) and Ortanza Keminger de Lippa. He settled in the United States of America, as did other Romanian diplomats in Washington during the interwar period, namely G. Boncescu, Radu Irimescu, Andrei Popovici. See, for example, the article signed by L.D. Grigorescu and Marian Ștefan, *Un diplomat român în America despre românii din*

On the occasion of *Romanian People's Day*, a richly illustrated program full of commercial advertisements was published, which diplomats Carol Davila Andrei Popovici signed [27] and George Boncescu or official representatives of the American government or local administration (Stephen Early, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary, Charles Vopicka, former United States Minister in Romania, or the Illinois state governor, H. Horner, or the city of Chicago mayor, Edward G. Kelly).[28] The brochure also included the events of May 3, 1933, as well as several photographs representing the Romanian Americans, some of them, especially the ladies and children, dressed in traditional costumes, various choirs, artistic ensembles, or competitors for Miss Bucovina, Miss Romania, etc.[29]

The costs for printing this program (2,500 copies) amounted to 225 dollars. Moreover, the total costs (printing, rent, purchases of products and materials, including drinks and food, banquets, etc.) reached almost 4,600 dollars, which were covered by donations and contributions from Romanian Americans, respectively, from the Romanian Legation at Washington (five hundred), ticket sales, cufflinks, flags, etc.; there was also a small remainder of 53.78 dollars, which was donated to the Romanian Orthodox parish in Chicago.[30]

America în 1947, also published on https://www.memoria.ro/marturii/domenii/diaspora/un_diplomat_roman_in_america_despre_romanii_din_america_in_1947/1138/pagina-2/, Accessed October 13, 2023.

26 AMAE, Washington fund, Romania–USA issue, vol. 212, the invitations addressed by Paul Tomy, the president of the Romanian Committee of the World's fair, to Carol Davila, the Minister of Romania in Washington (July 15, 1933, registered on July 21; this letter also talked about an invitation to be sent to Prince Nicolae, about whom it was known that he was coming to the United States), respectively Iuliu Maniu (July 15, 1933); he had also been sent an invitation to Bucharest), unpaged. – See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 8.

27 Andrei Popovici was a career diplomat and held various positions at the Romanian Legation in Washington in the 1930s. He received his doctorate in humanities from Georgetown University in 1928 with a thesis on Bessarabia. He collaborated with several periodicals of the time, among which we mention the "Bulletin of the American Institute in Romania" and "Delta Chi Quarterly," where he addressed topics about minorities, Romanians in the United States of America, etc.; See Dascălu, *Imaginea României Mari*, 114, 121, 200–1.

28 Program of the Romanian People's Day at the World's Fair. Sunday, September third, 2–13.

29 Ibid, 14–36.

30 AMAE, Washington fund, Romania–USA problem, vol. 212, "Report on all entries and exits made on the occasion of the preparations for the Romanian national works of the Union and

Instead of Conclusion

We attempted to outline a history of Romania's participation in the Chicago World's Fair project from 1933. The government from Bucharest was invited to participate in this universal Fair in 1931 but did not honor the American approach, leaving room for private initiatives, such as the initiative committees from the country and from the United States by Ștefan Tătărescu, respectively Paul D. Tomy.

Initially, the governments of Iuliu Maniu and Alexandru Vaida-Voievod, in office in the years 1931–1933, agreed to the idea of moral support of the steps initiated by Tătărescu and Tomy, but, following some diplomatic errors by some members of the private committees supporting the Romanian participation at the Fair, also gave up this option.

However, the Washington Legation and the State Secretariat for Press and Information supported symbolically, but also formally, the efforts of the Romanian committees whose objective was the Romanian presence at the 1933 World's Fair. They succeeded, for example, by sending volumes signed by Romanian women (Otilia Cazimir, Bucura Dumbravă, Cora Irineu, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, Princess Marthe Bibesco, Queen Marie, etc.) at the book fair organized by the International Women's Congress in July 1933, an event included in the Fair from Chicago.

It is also worth mentioning the contribution, modest, it is true, of 500 dollars, for organizing the festivities dedicated to *Romanian Day* on September 3, 1933, festivities which were also included in the calendar of the 1933 World's Fair. Let us also say that those 500 dollars represented less than 1/9 of the total sums collected through donations from Romanian individuals in the United States, but also from their organizations or parishes, as well as from the sale of promotional materials or access tickets. As a clarification that seems significant to us, we also add that the September 3, 1933, manifestation also included the organization of congresses of students, Baptists, and Romanian-American societies/organizations.

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the League in conjunction with the Romanian People's Day at the World's Fair on September 3 and 4, 1933, in Chicago, Illinois,"2 pages, 1–2 – See the *Documentary* section, doc. no. 9.

Documentary[31]

In what follows, we reveal a series of documents from the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romania-USA issue, cultural issues regarding Romania's Participation in the International Fair organized in New York in 1939, vol. 212, referred to in our presentation. We specify that the unpublished documents selected for publication here have been written in Romanian. In the archives, they are kept as they were written in Romanian, but we have translated them into English for the unity of the text and the present volume. We will then entrust them to the printing press in a Romanian publication.

1. Report sent by Paul Donici to the president of the American Institute in Romania, December 14, 1932, unpaged

The American Institute of Roumania,
8, Doamnei, S.I., Bucharest – Roumania,
Office of the President.
Report nº ... [*unnumbered – our note*], December 14, 1932.

Dear Mr. President,

In connection with the "Century of Progress" World's Fair in Chicago, I have the honor to inform you of the following:

Also having the capacity to represent Romania at the "America" newspaper of Romanians in the United States, I contacted D. Ștefan Tătărescu, president of Soc. A.R.P.A., which I have learned, is preparing a program under the report of our representation at the Chicago World's Fair.

Mr. Tătărescu, being the committee's president, told me that Romania's representation at the above Fair falls under the auspices of a committee set up ad-hoc by private initiative. –

The representation's program was also submitted to His Majesty the King. – At the same time, the Fair's General Commissariat and the American government were notified. – The Romanian Government only

[31] I have numbered the documents in this section, which I have arranged chronologically. In the footnotes of our text, we have also referred to the serial number of the documents included in the *Documentary* section.

provides moral support regarding Romania's representation at the Chicago Fair, as no other state or private association, apart from the committee it presides over and which is also composed of several Romanian industrial personalities, does not collaborate in anything to support the initiative to represent Romania in Chicago.

The arrangement of a Romanian village representing all the country's regions, – (the attached plan) – the execution and transport of the parts, including other expenses, are valued at 30 million lei. – Three transports will be carried out. – An offer was obtained from a shipping company that will transport Romanian hikers to visit the other sections, with 35 thousand lei per person, plus maintenance. –

A ten-cent admission fee will be charged to cover expenses. Visiting the industrial section will be free, and an additional fee will be charged for visiting the other sections. – By February 1933, a brochure with the general program will appear.

ss Paul Donici

Annex



Plan of the Romanian village representing all the country's regions

2. Answer to ministerial address no. 60852 / November 22, 1932, signed by Frederic Nanu, addressed to Minister Nicolae Titulescu (5760/X28A / December 27, 1932), unpaged)

No. 5760/X28A.
Dec 27, 1932.

Dear Mr. Minister,

Referring to ministerial address No. 60852 of November 22, 1932, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have communicated both to the Organizing Committee of the Chicago Fair and to Mr. Paul Tomy, in his capacity as president of the local Romanian group, the decision of the Romanian government not to participate in any form at that Fair and that the Romanian state cannot even take moral responsibility for possible private participation.

I can only congratulate our authorities on the decision taken to withdraw their moral support, the activity of the representatives of the Romanian Committee must necessarily cause the government all kinds of inconvenience.

Although, as Your Excellency communicated in the ministerial address quoted above, Mr. Russell was only a liaison agent, yet he sought here in the United States to persuade persons of American influence, among whom was Mr. William Nelson Cronwell, to contribute significant sums of money, through fantastic claims, to say the least. [*the document's first page – our note*] For example, in a letter sent to our Consul General in Chicago, Mr. Ira Nelson Morris, he stated that Her Majesty Queen Marie had assured him that she would be present at the opening of the Fair. He advised him, however, to wait before contacting Her Majesty the Queen for the official invitation from the American State Department. Then he assured that the Romanian Government had subscribed a significant amount of money and that a Romanian ship would transport the articles to be exhibited at the Fair, etc., free of charge. And so on.

On the other hand, the Fair Directorate had received a telegram from its representative in London, which notified it, at Mr. Tătărescu's telegraphic request, of Mr. Russell's departure to Chicago as Romanian Committee representative. After some time, Mr. N. Constantin also arrived, he addressed me in a letter in which he presented himself as Committee Vice President and designated Mr. Russell as Vice President as well. Asking him for an

explanation, he told Mr. C.H. Dumitriu, the Consulate's guarantor in Chicago, that Mr. Tătărescu did not know Mr. Russell, who had been sent to Chicago as Committee representative, on the initiative of Mr. Constantin, and that he had sent the telegram from London, mentioned above, signing the name of Mr. Tătărescu, without even consulting him. [*the document's second page – our note*]

In addition to this, as Your Excellency knows, a local group of Romanians had been formed with the support of the "Union and League of Romanian Societies in America" under the presidency of Mr. Tomy, a leader of the Chicago colony, who naturally expected to be consulted and interested in the organization of the Romanian section.

Mr. Tomy has repeatedly written to me complaining that Mr. Russell pays him no attention and refuses to acquaint him with his designs.

It is clear that our government, if it continued its moral support, was bound to be dragged into the inevitable conflict between the two groups.

Naturally, this Legation will give its support to serious Romanian private organizations that want to participate. Concerning the Tătărescu group, I ask Your Excellency to consider notifying us yourself of the people he will authorize to represent him because, after the experience with Messrs. Russell and Constantin, the greatest prudence seems to be necessary.

Today, the Chicago Committee informs us that the Fair Directorate recently received a telegram from Mr. Tătărescu announcing the sending of Mr. Eugen Varna as a special delegate to the Chicago Fair. [*the document's third page – our note*]

This is the only information the Legation has about that person.

Moreover, as at all other World's Fairs, any group, individuals, companies, etc. they can participate by directly renting the space they want. The only advantage of official participation is that governments are exempted from paying the relatively small rent of reserved space.

Stamp Minister
F.C. Nano,
Counselor [the document's fourth page – our note]

His Excellency, Mr. N. Titulescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest – FCN/EHD/ELM.

3. Romania's participation in the World Fair in Chicago, article extracted from *Dimineața*, March 30, 1933

The inclusion of the Romanian colony in the United States to the Romanian section's organizing committee in Chicago had a refreshing result, and the participation of the Romanians there, as was natural, is ensured.

The Romanian committee's efforts – and here is its primary merit – tended from the outset to create in the Romanian pavilion in Chicago a real possibility of selling important quantities of national goods, whose commercialization in the country is so problematic today.

An important conference occurred the other day between the organizing committee and the commercial attaché of the United States in Bucharest. This conference took place at the management of the Chicago Fair's insistence, which concluded a participation agreement with the Romanian committee.

To avoid the unnecessary transportation of goods to Chicago, the commission for examining the goods is highly rigid in accepting them, not engaging only for those categories of objects that are provided in the prescriptions of the Exposition Directorate, namely: national carpets, barks of all categories (preferably smaller sizes), national costumes of all provinces of the country or parts of such costumes, any kind of national fabrics, small ceramic objects in large stocks, small icons of any shape and any kind of objects or articles in series, which would represent something specific to Romania. In principle, the committee is approved for cheap objects that satisfy the curiosity of the many visitors who will enter the Romanian pavilion.

4. Telegram from June 14, 1933, signed by press adviser G. Boncescu of the Romanian Legation in Washington, addressed to the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs – State Secretariat of Press and Information, unpaged.

Radioletter,
June 14, 1933.
Digepres, Bucharest.

At the Chicago Fair, the international exhibition of books written between 1833 and 1933 by women stop will open on July 17 under the auspices of the National Council of American Women. The books will then

be deposited in the stop museum. Please send without delay beautifully edited and bound books written by women authors as soon as possible representative of Romanian culture.

G. Boncescu 2473
"Digepres" / c.o. / Romanian Legation

5. Reply of June 28, 1933, to the telegram of June 14, signed by Alexandru Busuioceanu, registered at the Romanian Legation in Washington on July 14, unpaged.

Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
State Secretariat of Press and Information.
No. 4100.
Appendices: 25 volumes and a list.
Bucharest, June 28, 1933,
July 14, 1933 [recorded at the Romanian Legation in Washington – our note].

Dear Mr. Press Advisor,

In response to your telegram, we inform you that, along with this, 25 (twenty-five) volumes signed by Romanian authors have been sent to you for the International Women's Book Fair in Chicago.

We can only send you relatively recent books, as older ones cannot be found.

Some volumes are not quite nicely printed, as we have not had time to bind them, please see to it that they are secured before handing them over to the Fair.

Stamp Minister, indecipherable
Director, Al. Busuioceanu

His Excellency
Mr. Press Advisor of
The Romanian Royal Legation in Washington

Appendix

1. Marie Queen of Romania: Povești (Stories); 2. Carmen Sylva: Pe Dunăre (On the Danube); 3. Carmen Sylva: Les pensées d'une reine; 4. Carmen Sylva:

Poveștile Peleșului (Stories of Peleș); 5. Princess Marthe Bibesco: Două portrete (Two Portraits); 6. Princess Marthe Bibesco: Destinul lordului Thompson (The Fate of Lord Thompson); 7. Bucura Dumbravă: Pandurul (The Pandour); 8. Bucura Dumbravă: Haiducul (The Outlaw); 9. Maria Cunțan: Din caerul vremii (From the Spun of Time) (two volumes); 10. Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu: Drumul ascuns (The Hidden Road); 11. Lucia Mantu: Umbre chinezești (Chinese Shadows); 12. Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu: Romanță provincială (Provincial Romance); 13. Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu: Mătușa Matilda (Aunt Matilda); 14. Magda Nicolaescu-Ioan: Dora D'Istria; 15. Constanța Marino-Moscu: Făclii în noapte (Torches in the Night); 16. Martha Rădulescu: Clasa VII (Grade VII); 17. Martha Rădulescu: Sunt studentă (I Am a Student); 18. Otilia Cazimir: Licurici (Fireflies); 19. Otilia Cazimir: Din întuneric (From the Darkness); 20. Cora Irineu: Scrisori bănățene (Letters from Banat); 21. Monna Rădulescu: Hoțul de stele (The Star Thief); 22. Titela Colonel Haqué: Povești pe aripa văzduhului (Stories on the Wing of the Sky); 23. Mama Lola: Povestiri și poezii (Stories and Poems); 24. Lucreția Brancovici: Arta românească din Banat (Romanian Art from Banat); 25. Minerva Schäffer-Cosma: Album de broderii și țesături românești (Album of Romanian Embroideries and Fabrics).

6. Invitations addressed by Paul Tomy, World's Fair Romanian Committee President, to Carol Davila, the Romanian Minister in Washington (July 15, 1933, registered on July 21), respectively Iuliu Maniu (July 15, 1933).

A.

Chicago World's Fair,
Centennial Celebration – 1933.
Chicago, Ill., July 15, 1933,
2836 / July 21, 1933.

To His Excellency
Carol Davila, Minister of Romania
Washington DC

Dear Mr. Minister,

The Romanian people in America, through their organizations and representatives, are preparing with all their might for the celebration of "Romanian Day" at the World's Fair, which, fortunately, is arranged at the same time as the opening of the Union and League Convention, the

Student Congress and the Romanian Baptist Congress, also here at Chicago on September 3.

The Romanian Committee of this Fair, together with the Organizing Committee of the Union and League Convention – which also consists of the same members – respectfully invite you to participate in these significant festivities.

At the same time, we ask you, Mr. Minister, to send an invitation on behalf of all of us to His Highness Prince Nicolae of Romania, who we understand is on his way to America, and ask him to crown the successes of this Romanian Day with his royal presence among the Romanians on these plains.

Also, please hand the enclosed invitation to Dr. Iuliu Maniu when he arrives in Washington.

Hoping that the Romanian people and their representatives from all corners of the United States and Canada will, this time, know their calling like other foreign nations and that our triumph as a nation will resound that day in all parts of the world, receive, Mr. Minister, the assurance of the special our considerations.

Romanian Council of the World's Fair

Paul Tomy, Pres.
Alexander Sage, Sec.
1440 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

B.

Chicago World's Fair
Centennial Celebration-1933
Chicago, Illinois, July 15, 1933

Dr. Iuliu Maniu,
Romanian Legation,
Washington D.C.

Your Excellency,

Following the many steps taken for Romania's participation in the World's Fair, we have at least chosen a Romanian Day in which our people from these plains and beyond will be able to present themselves to the world at this Exhibition, like other peoples, what he can and knows better. This day will be celebrated on September 3.

The Romanian fraternity, student, and religious organizations have arranged their conventions around that date and in this city so that we can also face such occasions as an ethnic group.

The Romanian Council, which is in charge of arranging these pompous festivities, is working hard for a brilliant success of this national day and asks you very persistently that Your Excellency also take part in this celebration of the Romanian nation on these lands.

We also sent you an invitation to Bucharest to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers since July 5, but fearing that you will be on your way when it arrives in Bucharest, we are entrusting it to the Romanian Legation in Washington in the hope that you will receive it on time, and you will honor us with illustration Your Excellency in person at these important events.

Please accept our tribute from all Romanians in America and welcome to these lands.

Romanian Council of the World's Fair
Paul Tomy, Pres.
Alexander Sage, Sec.
1440 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

7. Correspondence between Petre Boldika and the Romanian Legation in Washington from July 12 and 20, 1933, unpaged.

A.

Petre Micka-Boldika,
1172, Drouillard, Rd., East Windsor, Ont.,
July 12, 1933.
July 19, 1933–2809 / X-28A [*record at the Romanian Legation in Washington – our note*]

TO
The Romanian Delegation
at the World's Fair
Chicago, Ill., USA

Sirs,

The undersigned, I have the honor to ask you to kindly inform me of the procedure I should follow to be able to pass and exhibit at the World's

Fair (Romania Pavilion) [...] three pieces of carpets, size 200 cm x 150 cm, made by Romanian women from Banat, Romania.

These rugs are artistically completed, and only premium wool was used to make them.

I asked a few local experts and was told that these are rarities in the Americas and that a piece would cost between $200 and $300.

I feel that if I manage to pass them and exhibit them at the exhibition, I will bring praise not only to the Romanian Pavilion there but also to the skill of Romanian women throughout Romania.

Please also inform me if a group of Romanians from Canada, well prepared to perform a few dances from Ro- [*the document's first page – our note*] mania, nationals, it could also pass that a performance of this kind on Romanian Day, there.

I would like to remind you that the group's leader is not a Canadian citizen and could pass only as special permission given by the American authorities and only on a proposal by Your Excellency.

With gratitude for this information, I remain, with the most profound respect,

Petre Boldika [the document's second page – our note]

B.

No 2809 / X-28A,
July 20, 1933.

Dear Sir,

In response to your letter of July 12, I would like to inform you that Romania is not participating in the Chicago Fair, and therefore, there is no Romanian pavilion there.

For the engagement of exhibiting the carpets and performing the Romanian dances, I would advise you to apply to Mr. Paul D. Tomy, 1140 Fullerton Avenue, Chicago, Ill., Romanian Committee Chairman.

With all due consideration,
Stamp financial advisor

To Mr. Petre Boldika,
1172, Drouillard Rd., East Windsor, Ont.

8. Letter from the president of the Romanian Committee of the World's Fair, Paul Tomy, addressed to the Minister of Romania in Washington, August 5, 1933, unpaged.

Romanian Committee of a Century of Progress,
International Exposition – 1933- Chicago, Illinois.
5 August 1933
1440, Fullerton Avenue
[*Heading – our note*]

To His Excellency,
Mr. Minister of Romania
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Minister,

The Romanian committee in charge of preparing the program for the "Day of the Romanians" at the Chicago Fair sought to do everything in its power to make this day a brilliant success for the entire Romanian Nation and proof against the denigrations brought to us, and they are brought to us by the enemies of our Country.

The preparation and presentation of a program that could portray the merit and qualities of the Romanian people – a program that would not be inferior to the programs given by nations even smaller than Romania – was about $2,500.00. Due to the poverty created by the economic crisis of the last 4 years, it is impossible for us to raise this amount from our people and organizations.

Therefore, we ask Mr. Minister, on behalf of this committee and on behalf of all good Romanians in America, to please intervene with the government in Bucharest and ask it for aid of at least one thousand dollars for the success of this national purpose. If the amount will be granted, we would like to have the result at least on August 15–20 so that we can proceed with completing the projected program.

Since the Romanians on these plains rarely resorted to financial aid from the government at home, we sincerely regret that we have to do it now, but since the honor of the Nation is at stake, we have no other alternatives. We have to do it or remain compromised in front of the world.

In the full hope that Your Excellency will give us all possible competition, receive, Mr. Minister, the assurance of our special consideration for all.

On behalf of the Romanian Committee of the World's Fair
Paul Tomy, Pres.
Alexander Sage, Secr.
1440, Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Illinois

Romanian Day at the World's Fair, Sunday, September third [*Printed at the bottom of the page – our note*]

9. Report on all entries and exits made on the occasion of the preparations for the Romanian national works of the Union and the League in conjunction with the Romanian Day at the World's Fair on September 3 and 4, 1933, in Chicago, Illinois

	Incoming	Total
Cashed at the gala banquet	377.50	
Cashed at the official banquet	108.50	
Cashed at the September 4 party	427.00	
Cashed at the September 6 party	52.50	
Cashed at the bar and from the food served to delegates	1,360.40	
From the sale of badges	56.25	
From the sale of programs	40.70	
Oversolvings at the banquet	196.00	
From in-program ads	507.50	
The Romanian Legation in Washington	500.00	3,626.35 [$]

	Outgoing	Total
Rent at the Logan Square Masonic Temple	375.00	
Drinks	526.05	
Badges	310.00	
Groceries and meat	837.85	
Ice	47.00	

Music	247.70	
Hall decoration	22.59	
Rent for an Ice Box and materials for the bar	62.62	
Various prizes for women at the Bunco Party	22.93	
Prints and publications	118.26	
Printing the program in 2,500 copies	225.00	
Telephone, telegrams, and expenses with the tramway	38.84	
Laundry	42.00	
Renting glasses, plates, etc.	22.85	
Police Service	6.00	
Automobile used for preparations (gasoline, oil)	9.38	
Postage stamps	16.00	
Memorial service at the Holy Church	6.00	
Clichés	56.00	
Commission for agents who purchased ads in the program	253.75	
Reimbursing members for time spent in connection with the arrangement of celebrations	393,25	
		3,633.02 [$]
Members of the Speranța (Hope) Society have pledged that one and each will pay for banquet and party tickets at the cost of $1.50, which makes a total of		247.00 [$]
After receiving from the members of the Hope Society the above-mentioned amount, there will remain a net income of		240,33 [$]

[the document's first page – our note]

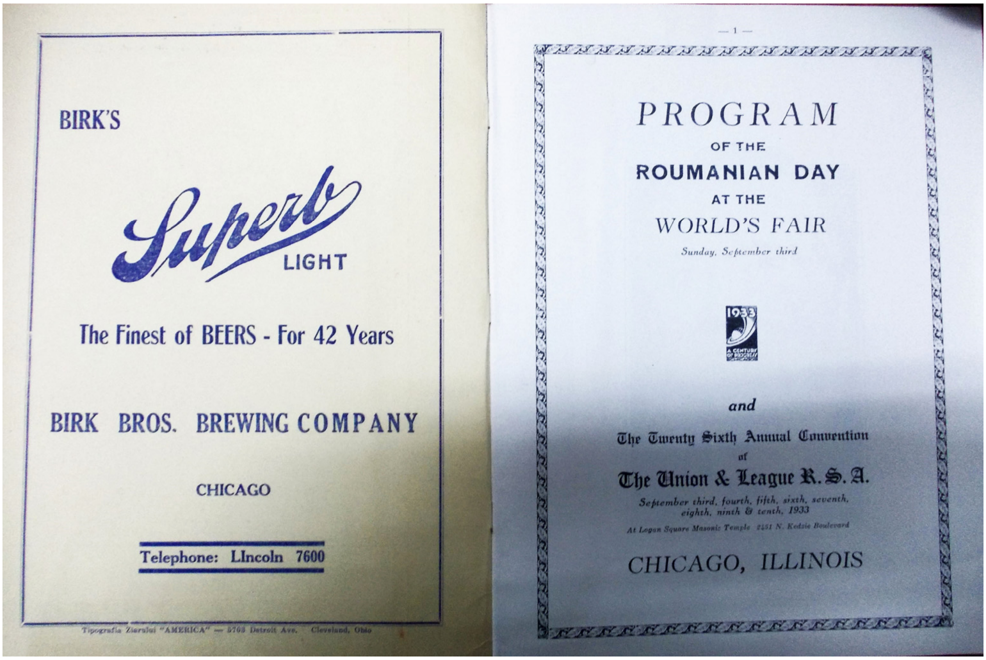
	Incoming	Total
Contributions from Parishes, Societies and Individuals	631,55	
From selling tickets	164,80	

From selling small flags	7,45	
From selling pins	198,77	
		1.002,57 [$]

	Outgoing	Total
Map of Romania and its mounting	199.72	
Expenses with arranging the program	225.20	
Expenses with electing Miss România	30.35	
Little flags	15.14	
Pins and badges	104.25	
Publications	141.15	
Rent of the hall for the sessions held	36.00	
Postage stamps	45.50	
Expenditure on cars formerly in service of the event organization	75.33	
Telephone	9.00	
Clichés	23.75	
Rent for typewriter, table, and chair	10.85	
Stenographer	15.00	
Bank for exchanging various cheques	3.05	
For refunded tickets (formerly paid)	7.50	
Small expenses	7.00	
		978.79 [$]
The remaining net income of		53.78 [$]

The standing committee at the World's Fair decided that this $53.78 sum should be donated to the Chicago, Ill Romanian Orthodox Parish fund.
[the document's second page – our note]

10. Title page of the brochure *Program of the Romanian Day at the World's Fair. Sunday, September third*, Chicago – Illinois, f.a. (1933), 36 pages.



Media Ethics and Democracy in Action

Grațian Marian Moldovan

Compared to Kant's ethics of the autonomous person, media ethics is a heterogeneous ethics, as its field of activity includes several processes (the process of communication, the process of governance, the process of alienation and de-alienation, the relations between media culture and mainstream culture and last but not least the place and role given to media ethics by the different ideological orientations).[1] Besides its objective-material support, the entire register of information technologies disposes of the communication process caught in interpersonal relations and democratically institutionalized.[2]

Democracy is based on consensus or is governed by consensus. The fact that democracy has several meanings can be easily understood. But the fact that democracy can mean anything is too much. Neither the definition by specification nor the etymological or lexicographic one educates us about the content and dominant notes of democracy. If in the process of organizing and functioning democracy, it allows citizens to control their leaders, then they are accountable to them.

The defining processes of democracy pivot around the tension between converting facts into values. It runs its existence by virtue of its ideals. The characteristic note of social democracy is not only the fact that it functions at the societal level, but the relevant detail is its endogenous nature. Socialist

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[1] Clifford G. Christians, "Media Ethics on a Higher Order of Magnitude," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 23, no. 1 (February 8, 2008): 3–14, https://doi.org/10.1080/08900520701753080; Idem, *Good News* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 1993); Goodwin, H. Eugene, Ron Smith, Gene Goodwin, *Groping for Ethics in Journalism* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1999).

[2] Jack Fuller, *News Values: Ideas for an Information Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Idem, *Handbook of Mass Media Ethics* (London: Routledge, 2008).

democracy is a policy imposed by the socialist state on society. Social democracy is instituted from the bottom up, while a socialist democracy is imposed from the top down. Social democracy is a way of life, while socialist democracy is a way of governing. From the perspective of a final analysis, our political behavior depends on what is, what must be, and what democracy can be. Connection is as important as dissociation.

Ethical norms represent a dimension of human action as permissive norms, and legal norms are those procedures that establish limitations regarding the choice of means to achieve certain goals. Democracy cannot be conceived outside the state, civil rights and liberties, and, of course, outside the recognition and explanation of ethical and legal norms.[3]

Camus pointedly noted that Ortega y Gasset was the greatest European philosopher after Nietzche in the first half of the 20th century. He was a follower of the fusion between liberalism and socialism. Together with Hannah Arendt, Elias Canneti, Ortega y Gasset believes that the masses are the ones who made totalitarianism possible, without identifying them with the working class or the lower classes. These masses come from all social classes. In Ortega y Gasset's vision, an atomized society is mobilized and manipulated with ease. The man of mass society is isolated, exposed, and therefore available.

His behavior tends to extremes, his way of reacting to the political process is the alternative to apathy. Totalitarian temptations, fear of freedom, vulnerability, social means of manipulation – were truly alarming elements in the first half of the twentieth century, which in the absence or violation of democratic norms, led to Nazi and Bolshevik totalitarianism.

As logic constitutes the heavy artillery in the conception of any consistent philosophical or theoretical discourse, in the same way, the presence and action of power in the case of a political regime that claims to be democratic is unavoidable. Power is a political concept, not an ethical one. The ability to develop our human capacities was a theme of ethics, and in this way,

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[3] Fred Emery, *Per una democrazia della partecipazione*, ed. Pino Tagliazucchi (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1991).

entered politics in the form of a specific meaning of freedom. Against this concept of freedom, power, an eminently political concept, has always been the force and ability to control others. Power is ultimately exercise: the exercise of power. *Omnis potestas a Deo* (All power comes from God), a power that was gradually replaced by its representative, that is, by the monarch, later by the people (*Omnis potestas a populi*). The king has two superiors: God and the law that originates in custom (customs of the land). The people have the alternative of relinquishing power in favor of the king, or they do not relinquish the exercise of power, they do not delegate it as J.J. Rousseau.

Compared to ancient democracy, which was a direct democracy, with direct participation of the demos, modern democracy is based on the rule of the limited majority; electoral procedures and the transmission of power to representatives. Democracy does not mean the power of the people. It does not mean the rule of the majority, either. This is a narrow formula for limited majority rule that respects the rights of the minority.

Democracy is not the rule of the majority without reservations (and therefore without limits). In turn, the freedom of the individual means nothing if it does not involve the right to have one's own conduct and to support and affirm opinions that do not have the approval of the majority. Can we admit that individual freedom is that the people consist, as a whole, of majority plus minority?

The freedom of each is simultaneously the freedom of all; and it acquires its most authentic and concrete meaning when we are in the minority. Minority rights are a necessary condition of the democratic process itself. Power is legitimate only if it really comes from below, only if it is an emanation of the will of the people, and only if it is based on a certain fundamental, manifest consensus.

Democracy exists, therefore, if the relationship between the governed and those who govern obeys the principle according to which the state is at the service of the citizens and not the citizens are at the mercy of the state, the government exists for the people, and not the other way around. It is easier to find out what democracy should be than to understand what it can be. It

is necessary to distinguish between political and politician. Politics is not ethical, just as we cannot admit the phrase "pure politics." The dissociation is not between the "pure politician" and an "impure politician" but between a conflicting power over the politician; and a peaceful, legalistic vision of politics. In the first case, power controls persuasion, force establishes rights, and conflict resolution is made by defeating the enemy. In the second case, force is kept in reserve, as the last ration, as the last reason, and conflict resolution is done through agreements, courts of justice, and fair procedures. Peaceful politics go hand in hand with legality. The security offered by the rule of law allows, among other things, open access to power and its alternation.

Political realism consists in making us aware of the factual basis of politics. If he gets to the big – -isms of politics – racism, nationalism, communism, populism, etc., then he is based on value options that do not derive from facts but are projected or imposed on facts. However, political realism cannot be based on values such as a world and an overworld. The cognitive dimension of political realism becomes an intrinsic component of a desirable process.

Between the cognitive dimension of political realism and the desirable or value dimension of social democracy, the relationship should not be one of juxtaposition, but of complementary complementarity. Deontology cannot reject a factual statement. There is no contradiction between a realistic knowledge and a democratic creed. The establishment and reconciliation of a modus vivendi is achieved by democratic realism.[4]

Hegel's statement "the real is rational" (and vice versa) has been interpreted in two distinct ways: the rational must be adjusted to the real; and conversely, the real must obey the rational. The last position belongs to the Hegelian left and especially to Marx. Rationally trained thinking is concerned with the state and not with government. Parliament must be the real seat of representative sovereignty, and government must be "executive." Giovanni Sartori rightly emphasized, "Probably that the democratic structure and its modus vivendi require more the reasonable appearance than a Cartesian

[4] J. Herz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

rigor."[5] Around these three issues – the sovereignty of the people, equality, and self-governance – democracy is established and affirmed. They are normative ideals. People are not equal, but different. Except for the fact that equality is, first of all, a value principle that imposes as rules of behavior, among others, the obligation to recognize ourselves in the other; or the duty to treat others as our equals, not as our inferiors.

The idea of people's sovereignty is between utopia and myth. Self-governance is our governance by ourselves. It cannot replace the government, i.e., the state institutions. For principles such as people's sovereignty, equality, self-government, we can use synonyms, such as norms, prescriptions, ideals, and values. The ideal represents a reaction to what exists. It represents the expression of a desired state. Ideals contradict and/or fight reality. The ideal can be achieved if, by it, we mean a partial fulfillment.

Liberal democracy conclusively attests to the realization of a set of ideals. "Traveling with hope is better than reaching the destination."[6] Therefore, ideals are achievable, but they are, at the same time, unrealizable. The normative or prescriptive definition of democracy establishes explicitly, in the new context, some ideal standards, ideal benchmarks for evaluating and monitoring the concrete achievements of real democracy. The creativity of democracies (ancient, modern or liberal, contemporary, i.e., neoliberal or social democratic) is based on the perspective of realizable or at least credible alternative worlds. *Ex nihilo, nihil fit* (out of nothing, nothing comes). We do not know a better way to affirm the creativity of democracies than by supporting and stimulating competition between parties (plural). Any political regime is based on the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. The democratic decision-making process does not involve the mixing between governing and being governed.

First of all, the democratic process manifests itself through elections. They verify the existence of consensus and eliminate fraudulent forms of

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[5] Giovanni Sartori, *Teoria democrației reinterpretată*, trans. Doru Pop (Iași: Polirom, 1999), 71.

[6] Robert Louis Stevenson Quote, *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 125.

consensus. Elections take place at regular, discontinuous intervals, allowing mediocre governance to be sanctioned.

Between elections, the popular power remains passive, as there are discrepancies between the general electoral options and concrete government decisions. We cannot isolate electoral events from the entire circuit of the process of forming public opinion. The electoral process is a necessary condition for maintaining democracy, but the circulation of information and the fulfillment of a formative role of public opinion is supervised and stimulated by mass media ethics. The mass media updates and evaluates the quality of political acts, guaranteeing the alternation of political parties in power.

Romania's relationship with the United States of America is at a moment of maximum cooperation on all levels, we emphasize here, – (military, strategic partnership, anti-missile shield, joint international military missions) or economic. We also recall the message of Philip Reeker, the director of the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia of the State Department, on the 140th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. "Freedom was the fiber that wove the Romanian-American relations from the beginning."[7]

So, history records the close relations between Romania and the United States of America either through the chroniclers Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir or later through the archdeacon of the Iași Metropolitan, Gerasim – "History of America" with the volume that brings the history of the American continent to the fore, up to the statements at the higher political level between the representatives of the two partner states, assumed through agreements, partnerships, cooperation in all fields.

[7] https://romania.europalibera.org/a/mesaj-sua-140-ani-legaturi-dimplomatice-cu-romania/30669699.html.

Agnes von Kurowsky, Ernest Hemingway, and the American Red Cross. Romania through the Eyes of a Universal Literature Muse*

Daniel Citirigă

Romania and the American Red Cross

Romania joined World War One in 1916, after two years of neutrality, and, despite all efforts, it could not fully compensate for the lack of weaponry, equipment and preparation in order to take part in a confrontation of such magnitude. Thus, in the autumn and winter of the first year of war, the Romanian army was repelled from the Transylvanian front, where it had attacked Austria-Hungary, and suffered a decisive defeat in the south – the disaster of Turtucaia – at the hands of the German and Bulgarian troops, coordinated by Marshal August von Mackensen. At the end of 1916, entire Wallachia, alongside the capital, Bucharest, as well as Dobrudja, were occupied by the troops of the Central Powers. As a result, the Royal House of Romania, the government, the parliament, and an important part of the population took refuge in Moldova, especially in Iași and its surroundings.

In these difficult conditions, the Romanian army, supported by the Russian one and helped by the Entente allies, had the task of defending the remaining borders. However, the war did not only mean armed confrontations but also epidemics, hunger, cold, orphaned children, wounded soldiers, etc. It was not by chance that Romania appealed to the Allies for their support,

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and one of the most important missions would prove to be that of the American Red Cross, which arrived in Iași in September 1917, after a long journey through Vladivostok and after crossing all of Russia. Queen Marie noted in her memoirs that "at Nando's house (King Ferdinand – our note) there was a luncheon in honor of the Americans, a very cordial and beneficial meeting, in which all those present showed goodwill," and the head of the mission, Colonel Henry W. Anderson was presented by the sovereign as "a charming man, truly a gentleman, one finds it a pleasure to talk with him."[1]

From the American standpoint, the reality on the front was dramatic. Henry P. Davison, Chairman of the War Council of the American Cross, dedicates an entire chapter to Romania: "At first came pneumonia, then typhus with a toll alone of 1000 lives, which was followed by recurrent fever and smallpox, all traveling with fatal swiftness through the crowded thoroughfares of Jassy and other towns, and along the country roads where the little villages joined one another" […] "Rumanian children swarmed the streets with stomachs and feet swollen from dropsy; pellagra claimed its victims by thousands."[2]

Despite the victories in the summer of 1917, the evolution of war brought Romania into an increasingly difficult situation due to the internal situation in Russia. The disintegration of the Russian army, the rise of Bolshevism, the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace all constituted a blow to the defense of the Romanian borders. In the end, the pro-German government led by Alexandru Marghiloman signed peace with the Central Powers (May 7, 1918), in which

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1 Queen Marie of Romania, *Maria, regina României. Jurnal de război 1917–1918*, ed. Lucian Boia, trans. from English, Anca Bărbulescu (Bucharest: Humanitas: 2015), 194. For the involvement of international organizations, Alin Ciupală, *Bătălia lor. Femeile din România în Primul Război Mondial* (Iași: Polirom, 2017); Costel Coroban, *Potârnichile gri: spitalele femeilor scoțiene în România 1916–1917* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2012), Marcel Fontaine, *Jurnal de război. Misiune în România noiembrie 1916–aprilie 1918,* trans. Micaela Ghițescu (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2016); Ion Stanciu, *Aliați fără alianță. România și SUA (1914–1920),* 2nd ed (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2010), 242.

2 Henry P. Davison, *The American Red Cross in the Great War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), 235–7.

context the French, English, and American aid missions were ordered by the Germans to leave the country immediately. As a token of gratitude for the effort made up to that point, Queen Marie sent the following message to Washington:

> At this hour when tragic events leave my country defenseless in the hands of a revengeful and relentless enemy, my thoughts turn with gratitude towards those who in anxious days but when there was still hope, came to my aid. I wish once more to thank the American Red Cross for the splendid way in which it answered my appeal of a few months ago. The work the American Red Cross Commission did amongst our wounded and amongst the suffering population is unforgettable to me and my people. Now that my country has to remain alone and forsaken, surrounded by foes, I wish once more to raise my voice and to thank all those who helped me, and to ask that we and our nation should not be forgotten, although a dreadful and humiliating peace has been forced upon us. I ask of the great heart of America to remember Rumania, if even for a while. Strangulated her cries will not reach it, and her tears will have to be wept in secret.[3]

The end of the war counted Romania among the camp of the victors, albeit with significant losses among the army and civilians. Hundreds of thousands of them had lost their lives, others had been left disabled, and children were orphaned. Under these circumstances, the program of the American president, Woodrow Wilson, which was meant to support the countries affected by the conflict, was a genuine lifeline. Not coincidentally, after an exemplary relationship with the war mission, in 1919, the sovereign sent a new letter to Washington:

> No country as well as America could assist us in this difficult task. Her wonderful sense of organization, the admirable devotion of her workers, her splendid spirit of altruism, her never-failing desire to uphold, console and lead forward, added to her unlimited material resources give her a power that no other possesses […] Who could better aid us than the American people?[4]

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[3] Ibid, 250.

[4] Doina Anca Crețu, "Nationalizing international relief: Romanian responses to American aid for children in the Great War era," *European Review of History/ Revue Européene d'Histoire* 27, no. 4 (2020): 527.

In fact, the situation was desperate throughout the entire Balkan region. Helen Scott Hey, Chief Nurse of the Red Cross Commission to the Balkans, indicated in a report that there was an urgent need for medical personnel. These data were also confirmed by col. Robert E. Olds, Red Cross Commissioner to Europe, col. Frederick Keppel, Director of the Red Cross foreign operations, col. Henry Anderson, Commissioner for the Balkans, and Alice Fitzgerald, Chief Nurse of the European Commission, who had just finished a tour of the Balkans in the fall of 1919. Typhus and the war had drastically reduced the number of doctors and nurses in these countries therefore, members of the Army Nurse Corps, from Paris, were sent to work within the units that were already serving in Romania, the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, as well as Albania and Greece.[5]

This was the context in which, in the spring of 1919, Washington intervened through the American Relief Administration program, led by the future president Herbert Hoover, to save the population of countries in difficulty after the First World War and the second mission of the American Red Cross was coming to Romania. The American minister in Bucharest, Charles Vopicka, wrote about Romania's needs, citing the report of Captain Green, the United States representative in Romania of the Food Commission of the Supreme Economic Council. According to him, at that time, Romania needed approximately 100,000 tons of food per month so that part of the population would not die of hunger. The USA announced that they could supply only 25,000 tons of grain per month[6]. In addition, specialized personnel were needed to care for those in need. Thus, in the March 1919 issue of *The American Journal of Nursing*, Clara D. Noyes reported that a Red Cross unit was organized in Romania with seven nurses.[7] The head nurse, Florence Patterson, wrote from Bucharest:

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[5] Clara D. Noyes, "The Red Cross," *American Journal of Nursing* 20, no. 2 (November 1919): 136.

[6] Charles Vopicka, *Secrets of the Balkans. Seven Years of a Diplomatist's Life in the Storm Centre of Europe* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1921), 297.

[7] Noyes, "The Red Cross," *The American Journal of Nursing* 19, no. 6 (March 1919): 448.

> To find a country so absolutely down and out yet trying to remobilize in the greatest tragedy in the world! No person on God's earth except the Roumanian peasant would respond to the order, and I wonder if he can. Combined with an alarming shortage of food, is an impossible lack of transportation. […] In some villages children have been found without stitch of clothes, and thousands just in skimpy rags! Fancy a country trying to raise an army to keep Bolshevism out, under these conditions, and already having 100000 war orphans because of the combined ravages of bullets and typhus.[8]

Therefore, according to *History of American Red Cross Nursing*, we can find several phases of the aid that the American Red Cross provided to Romania after the war: up to 1920, they offered medical aid and general goods, when, for several months, tons of medicine and food were loaded in the port of Constanța; then, in the second stage, a team of six nurses was maintained for a short time, until finally, only one American Junior Red Cross nurse remained. This nurse was Agnes von Kurowsky, and her role was to take care of the children in the orphanages and sanatoriums in Bucharest, Breaza, and Techirghiol,[9] which were financed by the American side. She would unwittingly become one of the most famous American Red Cross nurses in the 20th century.

Agnes von Kurowsky: the profile of a universal literature muse

On December 3, 1984, the *Washington Post* announced the death of Agnes von Kurowsky, aged 92, a former World War One Red Cross nurse. Despite this highly honorable status, such announcements appeared infrequently in such an important publication, although the United States had had numerous nurses involved in the conflagration. Agnes, however, was no ordinary woman. *The Washington Post* informed its readers that she was the one who formed the basis of the main character in the novel *A Farewell to Arms*, published in

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8 Idem, "The Red Cross," *The American Journal of Nursing* 19, no. 11 (August 1919): 866.

9 Lavinia L. Dock et al., *History of American Red Cross Nursing* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 2022), 1196.

1929 by Ernest Hemingway.[10] Thus, the announcement was about one of the most important muses of universal literature, indisputably one of the two essential novels dedicated to World War One, alongside *Nothing New on the Western Front* by Erich Maria Remarque.

Agnes von Kurowsky was born in 1892 in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Her father was of Polish, German, and Russian descent and had arrived in the United States after emigrating in the late nineteenth century from Königsberg, East Prussia, while her mother was American. After spending her childhood in Alaska and Vancouver, she attended school in Washington, D.C., where she also worked for a while at the Washington Public Library, after which she attended the Bellevue School of Nursing in New York. Thus, once America joined the war, the newly graduated Agnes joined the Red Cross as a volunteer, and in June 1918, she was sent, along with seventeen other nurses, to the hospital of Milan, Italy.[11] At that time, she was twenty-six years old.

Around the same period, the 19-year-old Ernest Hemingway also arrived in Italy. He had grown up in Oak Park, Illinois, his father a doctor and his mother a musicologist. Captivated by fishing and hunting, hobbies that he developed at his house on Walloon Lake, Michigan, Ernest wanted to become a journalist, and the war would give him the chance to live much closer to the important events than at home in America. "My country needed me, and I went and did whatever I was," he later confessed to a local newspaper.[12] Thus, he was chosen to be an ambulance driver for the American Red Cross in Italy. An adventurous spirit, Ernest would offer to take drinks, cigarettes, and chocolate to the soldiers at the front, but it did not take long before he was wounded in the leg being hospitalized with hundreds of pieces of shrapnel. After five days in a field hospital, he was transferred to Milan, to the American Red Cross hospital. Here, he met Henry Villard, whom

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10 *The Washington Post*, December 3, 1984, Washington D.C.

11 Aaron Severson, "Agnes von Kurowsky (1892–1984), Literary Muse. The Nurse who inspired Ernest Hemingway," *Working Nurse*, February 22, 2021, https://www.workingnurse.com/articles/agnes-von-kurowsky-1892–1984-literary-muse/

12 Gill Paul, *World War I. Love Stories. Real-life Romances from the War that Shook the World* (London: Ivy Press, 2014), 161. Introduction by Adrian Gilbert.

he would befriend, as well as the nurse Agnes von Kurowsky, with whom he would fall in love.

Henry Villard would document the relationship between these two decades later and thanks to the book *Hemingway in Love and War*. *The Lost Diary of Agnes von Kurowsky, Her Letters, and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway,* published in collaboration with James Nagel in 1989, nowadays we have a much clearer picture of the events. Villard is also the one who confirms the atmosphere that encompassed Agnes in the hospital of Milan.

> I asked the name of the angelic creature who had admitted me into this spot of heaven.[13]
>
> […] When Agnes did appear, the entire place seemed to brighten because of her presence. Besides having what the boys called "it" she was kind, quick, intelligent, and sensitive to the moods of patient; what's more, she was blessed with a sense of humor that verged on the mischievous. She was firm without being too strict, light-hearted yet professionally serious. Altogether the perfect temperament for a nurse.[14] […]
>
> She had a sparkle the others didn't possess. Fresh and pert and lovely in her long-skirted white uniform, moving lithely as she went about her tasks, wasting no time yet never seeming to hurry, she radiated zest and energy. Obviously her work took precedence over everything else, and just as obviously she liked her work. I myself came to have a real crush on Aggie, or Ag, as she was called by those who got to know her best, but then all the boys fell for Aggie to some degree. No wonder. In the close quarters of our top-floor ward, we were always conscious of her comely presence when she was around.[15]

However, the favorite of the wounded would allow herself to be conquered by "the kid," as Agnes would call Ernest in the letters, she would write to him after she was detached in Florence in October and November and Treviso in December, and which she signed off as Mrs. Kid or Mrs.

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[13] Henry Villard, James Nagel, *Hemingway in Love and War. The Lost Diary of Agnes von Kurowsky, Her Letters, and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 7.

[14] Ibid, 14.

[15] Ibid, 28.

Hemingstein. Their relationship lasted for several months, during which the Red Cross nurse wrote a diary but also letters to her mother and her seven-year-younger boyfriend. Unfortunately, Hemingway's letters to her were not preserved; at an advanced age, she confessed that the man with whom she had a relationship after Hemingway, Domenico Caracciolo, forced her to burn them. It is certain that the young man who would become one of the world's greatest writers wanted a lasting relationship, dreaming of marriage. However, Agnes was not as confident. The letter from her, dated March 7, 1919,[16] in which she invoked the age difference between them, shattered this plan. Ernest Hemingway, who was in America at that time, perceived the separation as a great blow and a great betrayal.

Ernest Hemingway met Agnes von Kurowsky during the second week of his hospital stay and, as some of his biographers or those close to him would note, in addition to the wound caused by the explosion on the front, the second trauma would be the emotional blow that this love relationship would have on him. His sister, Marcelline, remembered that he vomited after reading the letter.[17] The biographer Peter Griffin would point out that "I think the real explosion that affected Hemingway was the broken heart Kurowsky gave him, not so much...being blown up," while Henry Villard claimed that the separation from her "had hurt him severely, so deeply that he wrote about it all his life."[18] Hemingway's son, Jack, went even further, stating that the separation from Agnes was "the great tragedy" of his father's early life.[19]

Even if some of these assertions might be speculative or exaggerated, it is certain that, at the time of the separation, Ernest suffered intensely. In a

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[16] Ibid, 163, 164.

[17] Ken Ringle, "THE WOMAN BEHIND HEMINGWAY'S 'FAREWELL,'" *The Washington Post* (September 17, 1989), Accessed August 10, 2023, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1989/09/17/the-woman-behind-hemingways-farewell/54d4c8b3-b27b-4321–9706-c887b6fcbd55/

[18] Mary V. Deaborn, *Ernest Hemingway: a biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017), 129, 130.

[19] Ringle, "THE WOMAN BEHIND HEMINGWAY'S 'FAREWELL.'"

letter dated March 30th, 1919, he wrote to his friend, Bill Horne, about the way Agnes wished him a brilliant career:

> But Bill I don't want a wonderful career and everything. That isn't really fair she didn't write 'and everything' – All I wanted was Ag and happiness. And now the bottom has dropped out of the whole world and I'm writing this with a dry mouth and a lump in the old throat and Bill I wish you were here to talk to. The Dear Kid. I hope he's the best man in the world. Aw Bill I can't write about it. 'Cause I do love her so damned much.[20]

Not coincidentally, Agnes von Kurowsky would appear in several works of the future winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature. We also find her in the short autobiographical story "Snows of Kilimanjaro," published by Hemingway in 1936, but the work that would bring him the fame of a great writer and the status of celebrity for her, years later is *A Farewell to Arms*, published in 1929. In the novel, the heroine, Catherine Barkley, a Red Cross nurse, falls in love and begins a relationship with Frederic Henry, an ambulance driver who had been admitted with injuries at that hospital.

> I heard someone coming down the hallway. I looked toward the door. It was Catherine Barkley. She came into the room and over to the bed. "Hello, darling," she said. She looked fresh and young and very beautiful. I thought I had never seen any one so beautiful […]. When I saw her I was in love with her. Everything turned over inside of me. She looked toward the door, saw there was no one, then she sat on the side of the bed and leaned over and kissed me. I pulled her down and kissed her and felt her heart beating.[21]

Naturally, the author is inspired by what he experienced, but he lets his imagination work, not necessarily writing an autobiographical novel or a war memoir. Thus, she is a British nurse, not an American one, and she dies in the end during the birth that required a C-section. The identity of the woman behind the character of Catherine Barkley was not known until after the death of Ernest Hemingway, when, in 1961, his brother, Leicester, published a volume dedicated to the writer: "In their separate ways, each of

[20] Eleanor Bass, ed., *Your Always X. Letters of Longing* (London: Icon Books, 2016), 142–3.
[21] Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), 102.

them had made the best possible recovery from that serious early romance. His bitterness gone, Ernest remembered Agnes in the creation of Catherine Barkley of *A Farewell to Arms*."[22] During the meeting with Henry Villard, a fellow sufferer with Hemingway in the hospital and also fascinated by the beautiful nurse, Agnes von Kurowsky was disturbed when he raised the issue that she was the basis of the character in the novel. However, Villard considers the source of inspiration indubitable, and he believes that without Agnes, Catherine would not have existed.[23]

In a discussion with his main biographer, who would publish the dialogues and confessions of Hemingway as memoirs, the writer pointed out that in the character of *A Farewell to Arms,* one could find part of the experience he lived in reality with the Red Cross nurse in Italy, yet the emotions which were almost identical to what he had experienced and felt in his relationship with Agnes von Kurowsky could actually be traced in "A Very Short Story."[24] This story is only one page long, but it is evident that it is much closer to what had happened between the two: the young American returns to the US after recovering from his injuries, swears his love to the nurse, and they would vow to marry each other. Nevertheless, shortly afterward, the nurse falls in love with an Italian major, and she sends a letter to her former lover, informing him that she would marry the Italian, which would actually not happen in the end. In turn, she would receive no reply from America either. Last but not least, in that last letter, the nurse expressed hope that he would forgive her, but also her belief that he, the young American, would have a successful career. "She loved him as always, but she realized now it was only a boy and girl love. She hoped he would have a great career and believed in him absolutely. She knew it was for the best,"[25] expressions

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[22] Leicester Hemingway, *My Brother, Ernest Hemingway,* 4th ed. (Sarasota, Florida: Pineapple Press, 1996), 52.

[23] Villard, Nagel, *Hemingway in Love and War*, 41–45.

[24] A.E. Hotchner, *Papa Hemingway. A Personal Memoir* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1999), 88.

[25] *The Complete Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (New York: The Finca Vigia Edition, 1991), 95.

that fully reproduced the thoughts that Agnes had written to Ernest on March 7, 1919.

Shortly afterward, in September 1921, Ernest Hemingway married Elizabeth Hadley Richardson, eight years his senior. They moved together to Paris, where he was a correspondent for the *Toronto Star* and where he met a number of writers and artists, such as James Joyce, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, or Ezra Pound. During this time, Agnes von Kurowsky arrived with the American Red Cross and then with the American Junior Red Cross in Romania, where she would take care of children affected by the war, orphans, wounded or sick. In spite of the fact that they had never met after, the two did not cut ties entirely, as the documents point out. They wrote at least one more letter after his marriage to Hadley but never met again.[26] What is certain is that one summer evening, when he was about to divorce his first wife, while he was sitting on a bench on the banks of the Seine, in order not to fall asleep, Hemingway resorted to an old exercise:

> I thought about my childhood when I was hunting with my dad, who would only give me three rounds for the rifle, when I was listening to the Cubs with my friend Bill, when I was taking a drink of his father's whiskey, when I was fishing for trout after I came back from the war and caught the best shots, in the woods with Prudy Bolton, that Indian girl, the painful quarrels with my bigot mother, the nights when nurse Agnes von Kurowsky, with whom I dreamed in my foolishness that I would marry, took care of me in the hospital, my sister's wedding […].[27]

The success of the novel *A Farewell to Arms* would enable a first movie adaptation in 1932, directed by Frank Borzage, starring Gay Cooper and Helen Hayes, then one in 1957, directed by Charles Vidor and starring Rock Hudson and Jennifer Jones. Last but not least, the relationship between Ernest Hemingway and Agnes von Kurowsky was adapted into the film *In*

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[26] Robert K. Elder, Aaron Vetch, Mark Cirino, *Hidden Hemingway: inside the Ernest Hemingway archives of Oak Park* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2016), 298.

[27] Hemingway' s loves recounted by himself and recorded by A.E. Hotchner, Ernest Hemingway, *Iubirile lui Hemingway povestite de el însuși*, ed. A.E. Hotchner, trans. Alexandru Macovescu (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2018), 122.

Love and War (1996) starring Chris O'Donnell and Sandra Bullock and directed by Richard Attenborough.

Agnes von Kurowsky in Romania

Once the relationship with the Italian officer ended, and the mission of the American Red Cross in Italy came to a halt, Agnes von Kurowsky returned for a while to America, to New York, after which, in the spring of 1920, she was assigned to be part of the group of nurses who were going to Romania. Owing to the letters she sent, preserved nowadays at the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum in Boston, we can reconstruct part of the moments she experienced in Romania.

According to the letter she addressed to her mother from Paris on April 4, Agnes still did not know exactly where she would end up. "We have not been definitely assigned as yet, but I think Ted Le Gros and I are going to Romania to do child welfare work, and I am so pleased with the prospect."[28] It is certain that this was the moment when this country was first envisaged, given the fact that in the next letter, the one on April 12, it would appear she was bound to arrive in Bucharest, "where I am to do child welfare work." The perspective seemed favorable to her, except that she had not found a Romanian-English dictionary, without which she imagined having a hard time, taking into consideration that she expected to be directed to a small town in the country. "The prospect seems very fine indeed, as I have told Romania is in a much better condition than the rest of the Balkan states."[29] On April 20, Agnes was still in Paris, and she wrote to her mother that "As there are not many Americans in Roumania, I'll imagine we'll be treated very well. I am told very good accounts. They say we will live on top of the world as far as food is concerned, and Miss Hay, the chief nurse here in Paris, told us we would be in a large city and not in the country as I had

[28] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 4 Apr [1920], Paris, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–003).

[29] Ibid, *TLcc 12 Apr 1920, Paris, to Mama*, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–004).

thought."[30] The next two letters were also sent from Paris, one of which referring to the fact that the dollar had an even better exchange rate in Romania than in France, and she concluded by confessing to her mother that "I don't know why, but I am much happier here than I am in the US.[31] Finally, on May 11, Agnes von Kurowsky wrote her first letter from Bucharest. Her mother received it in Washington on June 9, 1920.

Until July, she continued to write regularly, sending seven letters to her mother from Romania and one to Kitty, probably a friend. Nonetheless, it should be researched whether there are any other letters about Romania, considering that they are part of the first internship in Romania between May and September 1920. Yet Agnes von Kurowsky, alone this time, soon returned to work on an American Junior Red Cross mission. According to her personal file, in February 1921, she arrived in Bucharest again for Child Health Work, then on March 10, she was detached to Breaza (Prahova County), and on June 28, she left for Techirghiol (Constanța county) Sanitorium, while on 8 October 1921, she ended her mission, about to leave Romania.[32]

The activity and atmosphere of these centers were described in *Junior Red Cross News*, the magazine of America Junior Red Cross. The January 1922 issue dedicated a page to Arabella Smith's visit to Romania, a young American woman and member of the Junior Red Cross. She was accompanied by her aunt, and they arrived in the port of Constanța on November 25, on Thanksgiving Day, and immediately after disembarking, they had a rather poor meal of black bread and coffee and tried not to think about the traditional American turkey. Afterward, they took "a dilapidated motor car," which they used to travel to Techirghiol, where there was a hospital for malnourished children, helped by the American Juniors. After a terrible road, "as fool of holes as a mince pie is of raisins," they reached the shore of Lake Techir,

[30] Ibid, *TLcc 20 Apr [1920], Paris, to Mama*, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–005).

[31] Ibid, *TLcc 26 Apr [1920], Paris, to Mama*, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–006).

[32] *National Archives and Records Administration* (hereafter NARA), https://s3.amazonaws.com/NARAprodstorage/opastorage/live/22/7062/6706222/content/arcmedia/dc-metro/ANRC/A1–27140/5890770-stanfield/hd1–91147089_2009.pdf

famous for its water and for the mud with medical value. The hospital they were visiting had 350 girls and boys housed in long halls with beds covered with brightly colored blankets crocheted by the Juniors at home. Two teachers, supported by the Junior Red Cross, went to each bed and educated them in various crafts so that the long hours passed differently for the sick. The children received toys, games, equipment for gymnastics, and even embroidery from America, which made the young woman from across the ocean say upon returning to Constanța that "I had the 'realest Thanksgiving feeling' I have ever had." Then, on November 30, accompanied by the head of the Junior Red Cross in Romania, Mary Moran, Arabella Smith and her aunt visited the School of Arts and Crafts of Bucharest. On December 1st, after a long and bumpy road, they visited another school in Breaza financed by American children through the Junior Red Cross. The latter was founded by a Romanian colonel, and, the article noted, it was the first project of a community center in Romania. The girls hailed from all over the country and had come to Breaza to learn the old handicrafts of the Romanian peasants.[33] In the issue of March 1922, the readers of the magazine were informed that contributions to the Children's Sanatorium in Techirghiol had stopped since the end of the previous year and that since then, the institution could continue to function on its own. At the same time, the American children were at that point still contributing with aid to the Girls' Industrial School in Breaza.[34] At the end of the same issue, there was a photo of a little boy looking happily into the camera on a sunny beach, wearing a hat, and the caption read, "The love of American Juniors is reflected in this little boy's smile. He received assistance at the sanatorium for children, Techirghiol, Romania, at the Black Sea."[35]

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[33] "A Junior's Rumanian Diary," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 5 (January 1922), 70 https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–01_3_5/page/70/mode/2up

[34] "Around the World," *Junior Red Cross News* 3, no. 7 (March 1922), 100 https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–03_3_7/page/100/mode/2up

[35] "With Juniors of Other Lands," *Junior Red Cross News*, (See Note 34), 107 https://archive.org/details/sim_american-red-cross-youth-news_1922–03_3_7/page/106/mode/2up

According to the documents in Agnes von Kurowsky's file, kept at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, her superiors were extremely satisfied with the work of the nurse in the Junior Red Cross. Lillian Margaret Spelman, Chief Nurse, Commission to Romania, emphasized that "Miss von Kurowsky did excellent work in Romania," while Helen Scott Hay, Director, Nursing Service, A.R.C. in Europe, wrote in December 1921, that "Miss von Kurowsky's service has been especially satisfactory. She possesses unusual ability and devotion and a merry heart that makes her most acceptable everywhere in all classes. She is warmly recommended for service anywhere."[36] After two years, in 1923, Clara D. Noyes recommended her in turn:

> […] she has a good education, speaks French and I think German, perhaps Romanian, quite fluently, is a graduate of the Bellevue School of Nursing, has done some private nursing, was Assistant Night Supervisor at Bellevue for sometime, Instructor for Probationes (sic!) at Long Island Hospital Brooklyn, N.Y., and was with the Red Cross in Italy during the war and then returned and was reassigned to the Child Welfare work in Romania. All of her credentials are exceptionally good and she has a pleasing personality.[37]

The fact that Agnes von Kurowsky learned Romanian is, of course, both a matter of practice and attachment. Moreover, the ties with Romania did not end with her departure from the port of Constanța towards the West. In 1922, Agnes von Kurowsky was invited by Clara D. Noyes, Director – Nursing Service, to resume work within the Red Cross, but, to the latter's disappointment,[38] the answer was negative. Agnes von Kurowsky motivated her decision through the fact that at that time, she was living in New York together, in an apartment, with a young Romanian woman who had worked for three years for the American Red Cross, then an assistant at the Junior Red Cross had spent the winter studying at the Sorbonne, and had finally obtained a scholarship at New York of Social Research. In addition to this presentation, Agnes characterized her Romanian friend as "a brilliant student,"

[36] NARA, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2662302?objectPage=26

[37] NARA, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2662302?objectPage=37

[38] NARA, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/6706172 (in these letters, the name of young Romanian girl is Golitzi, not Galitzi)

for whom she felt responsible, and emphasized that under other conditions, she would have immediately accepted the offer of the Red Cross. The friend she was talking about was Christine Galitzi,[39] a future sociologist, who proved indeed to have exceptional qualities, obtaining a doctorate at Columbia University, based on which in 1929 she published a reference book, *A Study of Assimilation Among the Romanians of the United States New York: Columbia University Press.*[40]

One can deduct the atmosphere that Agnes von Kurowsky experienced in Romania within the Junior Red Cross program from two other sources. On the one hand, at least two photos from the collection of the American Red Cross, found at the Library of Congress, depict her with the children from Techirghiol. On the other hand, we have an extremely interesting and important document held in the Ernest Hemingway Collection at J.F. Kennedy Library and Museum in Boston, namely the last correspondence between the two former lovers. On December 22, 1922, after receiving a letter from Hemingway, which has not been preserved, Agnes von Kurowsky replied, telling him, among other things, about her experience in Romania, where "really life was good, even if we did have a hard job. Then after a summer at a Tbc. Sanitarium in Constantsa – a wonderful experience – I asked for release & came back home," and offered to put all her contacts at his disposal, should he decide to visit Romania. The very formula with which Agnes von Kurowsky chose to end her letter to Ernest Hemingway showed a strong attachment to the country where she had spent most of her time after leaving Italy: "a strong grasp of the hand – as they say in Roumania."[41]

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[39] NARA, https://s3.amazonaws.com/NARAprodstorage/opastorage/live/73/7061/6706173/content/arcmedia/dc-metro/ANRC/A1–27140/5890770-stanfield/hd1–91033792_2009.pdf

[40] Sanda Golopenția, "Christina Galitzi on Romanian immigrants to the US at the beginning of the XXth century," *Historia*, https://historia.ro/sectiune/general/christina-galitzi-despre-imigrantii-romani-in-sua-570419.html

[41] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Ernest Hemingway Collection. Personal Papers*, Series 3. Incoming correspondence, ALS Von 22 Dec 1922, NY, 8 pp. This letter was also published in the volume Henry Villard, James Nagel, *Hemingway in Love and War. The Lost Diary of Agnes von Kurowsky, Her Letters, and Correspondence of Ernest Hemingway* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 164–168.

Ernest Hemingway would become one of the most famous American writers, winner of the Pulitzer and Nobel Prizes, married four times, and after a life with excesses of alcohol and mental breakdowns, committed suicide in 1961. Agnes von Kurowsky continued her career at the Red Cross, starting in 1926, she was assigned to Haiti and, after that, to the US. She was married twice and died in 1984 at the age of 92. The letters that we reproduce in their entirety are of particular importance because they help us reconstruct the life of the Red Cross nurses who came to Romania after the war. Agnes described how they arrived in Bucharest, where they stayed, how they procured food, what the places they visited looked like, the people, the customs in a step-by-step manner. What is also evident from these letters is the closeness and importance that the Royal House, through Queen Marie, gave to the American Red Cross. Last but not least, of course, these documents are also crucial in understanding the parallel lives of former lovers Ernest Hemingway and Agnes von Kurowsky.

ANNEX
Letters of Agnes von Kurowsky

May 11, 1920, Bucharest[42]

Received June 9, 1920, Washington

Dear Mama,

I suppose you will want to hear all about my journey, and it is certainly is a tale worth telling. If I only succeed in getting it all in one letter. In the first place we left Paris at last on the 7th at 7:30 P.M. on an express which goes straight through from Paris to Bucharest. So it really was not such a complicated trip.

We had to produce passports every time we crossed a border, but, our Pullman (?) porter or conductor or general factotum attended to all that for us, as we usually crossed the frontiers in the middle of the night. First night we went into Switzerland and had the loveliest scenery to wake up to and see during the morning. Then we went into Italy and I began to sit up and take notice, getting more and more thrilled every time I saw a familiar scene or uniform. At Milan I expected to meet Rita, but she evidently did not get my telegram from Paris, as she was not at the station. Anyhow it was good to see even the old station.

Then we went through to Verona, Vincenza, Padova, Treviso, Venice and the across my old friend the Piave. Altho' it was by that time pitch dark night, I kept my head out of the window most of the time.

We were cautioned so much about looking after our trunks and especially at Trieste where the luggage was all reregistered for Bucharest. So we sat up that night, at least Ted[43] and I did, and let the other two girls in the party go to bed.

There were Three American Doctors (R.C) in the party going to Belgrade and we had a spread off some canned pears about 2 A.M.

Finally, we arrived in Trieste at 3:30 and then a scramble to find the place of re-registration. I found that I was the only one in the line who could speak Italian and I acted as interpreter for about fourteen people mostly

[42] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 11 May 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 2pp. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–008).

[43] Ted LeGros, American Red Cross Nurse.

men, to the great and evident relief of the Italian officials at the window. It was a queer scene, people sleeping all around in the station, as in the day wars and the row of half dressed men from our train. I had the time of my life doing the interpreting and got many flowery compliments from the Italian rail-road officials on the purity of my Italian and they finally ended by asking me if I would come every night and help them out on a salary. It was great fun and all the passengers came up and thanked me effusively the next day, and I really me quite a few nice people that way.
It was 5 A.M. before I got to bed and when I woke up we were going through Jugo-Slavia. They told me in Paris to be sure and look out for a place near Fiume where there are pickets with fixed bayonets on each side of a boundary line fence. But it was to (sic!) dark to see anything of that. At last we struck Roumania in the A.M. and the scenes changed quite a bit. Such queer quaint costumes, especially the men.
I must take some photos and send them as they are most picturesque and interesting. At Krajova, a big city in Roumania they sent out the waiters to buy bread and then went off and left them and the bread behind. So our dinner that was a bit late and our waiters rather amateurish. Great system they have.
Of course, we arrived at Bucharest at an unearthly hour -1:30…and found the telegram sent from Paris to notify the R.C. (Red Cross – our note) had not arrived, so there was no one to meet us. If it had not been for the kindness of a young and gentlemanly Roumanian we met on the train we might have had to stay in the station all night. For of course not one of us there could utter or understand a word of the language, and there were no carriages to be had. And such unholy smells as there were around that station. My smeller is numbed for all time, I think.
Anyhow our kind young Roumanian friend got us porters and then found a littles cart drawn by a rickety looking little white horse, and on this we loaded our luggage and started on foot for the hotel, where we were told our chief lived.
It was a wild procession. I laughed most of the time at the picture we presented or would have presented if there had been any light to see by it seems an account of the scarcity of fuel the streets are unlighted after twelve o'clock.
After about three quarters of an hour's walk we hit the hotel and part of us went into demand shelter while the rest remained outside to guard the baggage. Of course we were told "No rooms." So Miss Le Gros woke

up the chief nurse and she had reserved rooms she said in another hotel further on. So we went on, the three nurses, the young gentleman and the cart driven by two very small boys. We found the other hotel quite close at hand and of course they too denied any rooms, but on persisting finally said they could put the three of us into one room.

Well, such a room! In the attic and simply ghostly looking, just like the attics in the movies. There were two very small very hard beds and one sofa of unexcelled durability and about one foot wide. I being the most slender was elected to the sofa tho' at first I tried sleeping with one of the other girls. I failed even tho' we made the bad over even to turning the mattress. So I went over and fixed myself on the narrow sofa rolled up in my own blankets and really slept for about six hours. When after trying to get hot water and failing in that too we were told we could have a better room down stairs.

We saw our little Roumanian friend and heard he slept in the elevator. We had lunch here at the hotel and the restaurant is certainly the best part of the place. For lunch we ordered soup and it turned out to be sour rice soup, which I'm afraid I'll never grow to like. We are told all the soups are sour.

I will certainly have to learn some more languages, as hardly anyone speaks English here. French is universally spoken, except among the servants, who speak German and Roumanian. My French is growing more fluent every day, and I think Roumanian will not be difficult as it seems very much like the Italian. I will stop now and get to bed, tho' there is a lot more I could describe.

I've seen enough of interest today to fill several good letters but …. Later.

Agnes von Kurowsky

May 16, 1920, Bucharest[44]

Received June 14

Dear Mama,

I sent you a letter when I first arrived, to Paris by courier as they say it is the safest way, but as said courier has not arrived to get it owing to more

[44] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 16 May 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–009).

strikes on the French railroads, it is still in the box at the A.R.C. (American Red Cross – our note) Headquarters. You may get this one first. We were lucky, as we got through just between strikes.

We began our work almost immediately upon arrival as our new chief is a hustler. I believe for the present I am to remain here at Bucharest and I hope so, as I am beginning to like very much.

The work is all with babies and is really training the mothers and the Roumanian welfare workers to carry on the work after the R.C. leaves, I expect to make rapid progress in the language as the worker I am detailed with speaks very little French and no English. Also, the language is something like Italian.

I have never been in such queer uncivilized country.

In some ways it is super civilized but on the streets you can see sights that remind you of Russia, Turkey and the Orient.

There is a large percentage of Gypsies, and the real thing, ear rings gay clothes and all. The Roumanian costume is very picturesque. I am going to try and bring one home with me.

After the Italian work their embroidery does not appeal to me for clothing, tho' it makes beautiful table covers and hangings.

I am going to riding school soon and begin some lessons as the price is very reasonable about 35 cts per hour. Everybody rides and I am so pleased over the prospect. They tell me the summers are very hot here but we do not expect to work in the middle of the day so I guess we will not mind it, if we are dressed appropriately.

The work is supposed to last until September 1st and then to be continued by the Roumanian workers. I hope to get some good photos of the types and send them as they are all too picturesque for words. The men wear white (nearly) long shirts outside, usually girded in with a wide red belt and high pointed fur cap.

The women wear a handkerchief tied over their heads and around the neck quite different from Italian style of draping, very full skirts and waists like the Bulgarian ones, once in style in U.S., with a drop shoulder and lots of embroidery in colors. Red is very prevalent and the tiny babies always have a red bow on their fancy caps to keep them from dying, they say. I am afraid it does not always work as the infant mortality is frightful during the summer here.

Agnes von Kurowsky

May 23, 1920, Bucharest[45]

Received June 28

Dear Mama,

Today is our 2nd Sunday here already.
When one is so busy the time just flies, and when I think of how long the days were in Paris in spite of all its glories it seems queer somehow that they rush by here. Our work keeps us going and then we are making arrangements to take a house for the summer. Miss Spellman,[46] miss Le Gros and I, the three nurses left in Bucharest. It will make our living much pleasanter and cheaper than here in this awful hotel.
Tho' here our meals are certainly cheap enough. We eat turkey, chicken, and tenderloin steak every day and our lunches and dinners cost on an average 30 to 50 cts for the whole meal.
Clothing seems dearer than anything else and I don't see how any of the people dress so well as they do. Our money is worth so much more that I almost feel like a criminal when I see the exchange we get.
Anyhow as I was saying we will move into the house June, first, and hope to be very comfortable. It is a long time since I have kept house or had more than half a room, I won't know what to do with so much space.
Will try and make my letter more interesting next time, but now I am sleepy and must say good night.

Agnes von Kurowsky

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[45] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 23 May 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, bearing TLcc 6 June 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–010).

[46] Lillian Margaret Spelman, born in March 1878, Brooklin, New York, was assigned in October 1919, supervising nurse Infant Welfare and Head Nurse in Roumania. In Septermber 1920 – released from Roumanian Commission and left Paris – NARA, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2662293?objectPage=4

May 31, Bucharest[47]

Received June 21

Dear Mama,

I began a letter to you about 3 or 4 days ago but it was never finished so I'll try again.

I have been so on the go for the last two weeks that I am not really myself at all and quite spoiled. The Red Crossers who were here received us all with open arms and made it so pleasant that I, for one, will miss them very much.

They are all leaving tomorrow except the few nurses – 5 altogether in Roumania. Thursday I went to a dinner given by the American Minister to Roumania[48], which was followed by a dance, after which I went for a lovely motor ride in the cold down with four men of the Red Cross. Then Saturday R.C. gave a farewell dinner dance and I made a gown in the P.M. and went and had a wonderful time. The Roumanians dance far better on the whole than the Italians that I have danced with. Tonight makes three weeks since I came and I have not bought a single postcard – that's saying a good deal for me.

Today we moved from the hotel into the house we have leased from the summer. It seems very nice and aside from servant complications and foreign ways to overcome, I think we are going to be very comfortable. It will be much cheaper, everyone says than living at the hotel.

Tho' we considered our meals there quite reasonable, chicken, turkey, and lovely tenderloin steak, and the entire meal from soup to desert costs 35 to 50 cts. But of course we must try and not think in dollars, as one of the nurses use to say. The wine is very different from the French and Italian wine and I can't get used to it enough to like it, so I am glad the water is good to drink.

Of course we are inoculated for almost everything, so we should worry. Now we are getting plenty of strawberries, so I am happy and the pastry is also different from the French but quite good.

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[47] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 31 May [1920], Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–011).

[48] Charles J. Vopicka, United States Envoy Extrordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Roumania, Serbia and Bulgaria 1913–1920.

I must stop and mail this. I hope you are writing to the Paris address just the same. It will come to us through the legation now as we have no longer a special courier.

Agnes von Kurowsky

June 6, 1920, Bucharest[49]

Received June 28

Dear Mama

Housekeeping is certainly an acquired taste but it grows on one all the time. We thought we were going to have a Roumanian housekeeper but she turned out a fizzle and only stayed one day, after which we were very glad to have her go. Now I am doing all the marketing and part of the cooking too. It is great fun especially the marketing.

Today, Sunday, is a special day for chickens, and this morning, I and the chauffeur bought after much bargaining and walking away to another dealer. Can you imagine a whole building just full of live chickens and ducks, and everybody walking around pinching their breasts to measure their meatiness? It was my first attempt to buy chickens with their feathers on. We came off pretty well. We had two young ones to fry and tomorrow will have a big one. The price… about 50 cts for the two small ones and less for the large one… I guess you will think we are living high. Yet it is all within our maintenance allowance, that is its beauty. We are expecting the hot weather to begin soon and then my ambition will die a natural death, as they say it is terribly hot here. We expect to run a different schedule of work here when it gets hot… go out visiting homes from 7:30 A.M. until 11:30 and then not go out util 4 P.M. I have been having an awfully good time until the R.C. left but now I expect to lead the simple life until summer is over and after that Goodness only knows what comes next. Every time any one tells me how hot it is I go and take a look at my fur lined trench coat the R.C. gave me to get to Russia with me.

Agnes von Kurowsky

[49] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 23 May 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, bearing TLcc 6 June 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–010).

June 17 Bucharest[50]

Received July 7

Dear Mama

Life is fair and fine in Roumania.

Just now I have an awful lot of sick babies and am kept pretty busy when I am home. Also we have been joy-riding lately. Sunday I went with Miss Spellman, to a place called Ocina[51], about a four hours ride from here in the Ford. It was up in the mountains and the loveliest place imaginable. We visited a charming person, Madame Sicleanu[52] (sic!), who owned most of the country around, and who took us to her heart because we belonged to the R.C. and made us feel quite at home. We spent the night there and came back the next afternoon with another nurse who had spent her vacation there. The food was strictly Roumanian.

Then Sunday evening, after the ceremony of tea, we walked out and saw a Hora, the national dance which is always danced on Sundays and holidays by all the natives especially in the country. It is hard to describe; they seem to move a lot and still they do all of their dancing in a small space in crowds, just packed together. The music is very wild and gipsy like, and it is hard to keep still when you hear it. The girls wear lovely embroidered blouses and their hair uncovered if they are not married, and decorated with bows of ribbon. If they are married they wear embroidered handkerchiefs over their hair. The men wear perfectly costumes and one that I saw at the Hora will do as a sample. He wore brown boots, white linen trousers, very tight, along plaited tunic embroidered and also white, belted in with a wide

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[50] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 17 June 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–012).

[51] Town in Prahova County, nowadays part of the Adunați commune, close to Breaza.

[52] Severa Sihleanu was the heiress of the Ocina estate in Prahova, and at the end of the First World War, upon meeting Gedeon Wells, professor at the University of Chicago and head of the American Red Cross in Romania, she invited him and led him to The Valley of Prahova, in order to understand the conditions in which the children of the region lived. Thus, "dr. Wells agreed to establish a section of aid for food and clothing, which began with the communes of Ocina, Talea and Provita de sus and then extended to all the valleys, up to Predeal." For her extraordinary collaboration with the American Red Cross, Severa Sihleanu received the organization's highest decoration in May 1920. See Severa Sihleanu, *Note și desmințiri asupra amintirilor d-nei. Sabina Cantacuzino* (Bucharest: Tiparul "Cartea Românească," 1938), 41, 84.

red belt a black sleeveless jacket and a soft black hat, with a rose stuck in the side, cocked jauntily over one ear. The sleeves of both women and men are very long and full and the most ordinary peasants have beautifully embroidered blouses and tunics. It is quite common to see a girl here in a costume that would make a sensation at a fancy dress ball, and yet it seems to suit the time and place perfectly. Of course the gypsies have still a different costume.

I have been riding several time lately, I went to the riding school last Saturday, with two girls, one a Roumanian and the other an American. Then Monday I had a chance to ride when I was up in the country, which helped to get the stiffness out of my joints, tho' I have not been as stiff a I expected to be. Then I went down to the Riding school again yesterday. There we ride indoors and the trainer stands in the center with a long whip and giver orders as "Au trot," "Au Gauch" "Oopah" which seems to be Roumanian for "Halt." It is going to be very good for me, as he tells me how to sit, how to hold my feet in the stirrups and all the little fine points I missed when I rode by myself in Poolesville. The lessons cost the princely sum of about 35 cts per hour, so I feel I must make the best of my opportunity as I know I could not afford lessons in America.

Agnes von Kurowsky

June 23, 1920, Bucharest[53]

Received July 15

Dear Mama,

I wonder did I write you since we met the Queen?

I think not, so it will shoot anyhow.

Last Friday by telephone we got word than the Queen Marie would like to see us at the Palace at 5:30 P.M. So we had a great time shining up our shoes and hats and cleaning our uniform to look presentable. The three of us went in great style in our Ford and drew up at the steps where we sat until a long bearded flunkey in a long skirted garment ran down to open the door for us. We had thought it was just an ordinary call, but lo,

[53] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 23 June 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–013).

we found ourselves in the midst of a great gathering of the best families and high officers and ladies in waiting. We saw our American minister and several of the ladies in waiting spoke English to us so we felt more comfortable. After a long wait the Queen came in with the Princess Elizabeth and went around and shook hands with everybody in the rooms, and was most cordial to Miss Spellman and Miss Le Gros and myself, saying some nice things about the baby work we are doing. Then she led a grand rush for eats, served across from the entrance court, at a big table served by men in livery. After that, we all followed her back to the music room, and sat around in easy chairs, listening to some lovely violin music by a Bohemian artist. Nobody applauded and I almost forgot where I was and I applauded which would have been an awful breach of etiquette, I suppose. Then Princess Elizabeth sang several songs in German and in French. The party was not over until after 8:30 and a good many of the guests were supposed to be dressed and at a big dinner by 8 but of course could not get away until the Queen dismissed them. We left haughtily in our Ford went two blocks and then came back to our old hotel for our dinner. It is just across the street and we were not wanting the other guests to see us going there from the palace. The Queen wore a lovely white lace and embroidered gown with a lavender toque and a long lace veil thrown back. The Princess wore a white silk jersey and a blue hat. They have left Bucharest, so I suppose that is our first and last appearance "chez" the Queen.

Agnes von Kurowsky

July 2 Bucharest[54]

Received July 22

Dear Mama,

We are very busy those days, as we have changed our working schedule. We work from 7:30 A.M. until 11 and then from 4 to 7 P.M., on account of the unbearable heat, in the middle of the day, which makes walking a physical impossibility. Also it is the time of year for gastro-enteritis and other hot weather diseases of babies and we are kept pretty busy.

[54] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLcc 2 July 1920, Bucharest, to Mama, 1p. [transcript] (AVPP-001–001–014).

You would certainly have a fit over our meal hours: breakfast of course, just coffee and bread, and fruit – lunch about 12:30 and dinner anywhere from 8 to 9 P.M. Some people here do not think of dining until about 10 P.M. Of course, they do not have to do anything in the evenings, and as to that neither do I lately but sleep an awful lot. We are supposed to have a big tea about 5 o'clock but we never seem to have the time for it except on holidays.

Domestic troubles are still keeping up and I do part of the cooking. We never know what are going to get. Today I went to market with Ted Le Gros in the Ford and I bought two live ducks (poultry is always alive here). Their legs were tied together when we got them so we put in the back with us. But they got loose and scampered all over the place, the compartment in the back of the machine.

Then I got a dozen eggs and the little old market woman had no paper to wrap them in so she carried them out and put them in Ted's lap. I got onions, beans, cauliflowers, cucumber about a foot long and some fruit, most of which were most uncovered.

Then we went down the Calea Victoria, the most fashionable street in town and bought a big piece of ice, so you see the picture we made, we must have looked quite chic to the Bucharestians.

We are running short on stationary. I am told so I must use this short-tailed paper unless it is for business.

Agnes von Kurowsky

August 24, 1920[55]

Kitty, dear

It does seem strange, when I come to think of it, that I should be over here so far away from you all, without any warning, so to speak. But, that is the way I like to do things, you know; just start off, and then tell about it, afterwards.

I have been here since May 11th, and, now, expect to be leaving Roumania by the 15th of September, and really I cannot say where this summer has gone

[55] John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Agnes von Kurowsky Personal Papers*, Series 1. Outgoing Correspondence, 1918–1920, 1962–1985, Box 001, TLS Agnes 24 Aug 1920, Romania, to Kitty, 1p, (AVPP-001–001–015).

to. I have been terribly busy, as besides the work I had the housekeeping for myself and two other nurses, and in a furrin' country that is not any snap. After struggling with Italian, and Roumanian servants, nothing in America in the servant line can hold any terrors for me.

The work is all Baby Welfare, so it has been mostly educational, and training of the Roumanian nurses, and, so-called nurses, to do Baby Welfare work after we have gone. And, of course, as the summer is the worst time for babies, we have had our hands full. I am running three stations here, and there are four other nurses, scattered all over the country, and a chief nurse, who lives with me (worse luck!)

Now, the English nurses, who are to take over the work we have started have arrived, so we are making tracks for Paris about the middle of next month, a prospect which pleases me extremely. I spent six weeks there in the Spring, waiting for a few railroad strikes, to let up, and except that my finances were very low when I left, I look back with a great deal of pleasure to those six weeks. Paris is no place for a poor nurse. I never saw such tempting shops in my life. Anyhow, we are planning to go back by way boat – across the Black Sea to Constantinople, Athens, and then Naples, and I am praying every day, that our plans don't go wrong, as it sounds some trip to me.

I am learning to drive a Ford, by way of diversion, and if, Martha or ever saw the old hulks that I drive around in, you would shudder to think of the daily, and hourly risk, and say, that I was too young to die. And these roads are terrible, but, it gives me a little excitement, especially as the man I am learning from speaks only French, and Roumanian, so I will never know Ford terms in good English, I suppose.

O, I wish I could show you some of the lovely peasant costumes I see every day around here. I am trying my best to get hold of one, but, since the war, they are very dear, and difficult to get, no I may not succeed. The embroideries, too, are very fascinating.

Tonight, I am all soul alone in this big house; as my chief nurse has gone on an inspection trip by auto, and, of course, it is raining, as it always does, on a night, when one feels especially lonesome and spooky. Just as I was writing that, I heard an awful pounding somewhere in the house, and I had to go all around to find where it came from, finally find a man at the front door with a package.

Well, next time you hear from me, it will not be from Bucharest, but, I am sure I don't know where it will be, so you will have to wait like I am doing now. My contract is not up until next March, so, I am in hopes I will be sent somewhere else before I go home.

Give my love to all my friends, and don't forget to write me any news as I am certainly out of things here. My address will be Red Cross in Paris as before as we always get our mail that way, no matter where we may be sent.

Love to your mother, and Martha, and tell that bum to write to me before I disown her.

As ever, affectionately
Agnes

Agnes von Kurowsky to Ernest Hemingway, December 22, 1922[56]

Dear Kid[57] –

Well, when your voice from the past reached me – after I recovered from the surprise, I never was more pleased over anything in my life. You know there has always been a little bitterness over the way our comradeship ended, especially since I got back & Mac read me the very biting letter you wrote her about me. (The mean part of that was that she had already read it to "the Doc – whom you may recall hearing of in those dim days.")

Anyhow, I always knew that it would turn out right in the end, & that you would realize it was the best way, as I'm positive you must believe, now that you have Hadley. Think of what an antique I am at the present writing, and my ghost should simply burst on the spot, leaving only a little smoke that will evaporate.

Oh, gosh, there's so much to tell you I can't tell where to start. The past 3 years have certainly been full of interest for me. I don't think Life (Capital) will ever be tame if I have anything to say about it.

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56 John Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, Boston, *Ernest Hemingway Collection. Personal Papers*, Series 3. Incoming correspondence, ALS Von 22 Dec 1922, NY, 8pp.

57 The form of address that Agnes von Kurowsky used in the letters she wrote to Ernest Hemingway during their relationship in Italy.

In the first place – to dig up the ruins – I came back from Italy – a sadder but a wiser girl – feeling that I'd like to break something & preferably somebody, & life wasn't really worth living. I was ruined for America, & when the poor Doc – much fatter- ambled around I was as nasty as possible, tho' he stuck fast until I sailed the 2nd time, when he promptly married, & now is struggling along & has a young son.

I worked in Miss Shaw's Tuberculosis Social Service Department for 6 months, & then went home for a visit, and came back to N.Y. just when things were beginning to stir up again in Europe – so I was slated for Russia & sailed in March 1920. I didn't dare tell my friends & relatives it was to be Russia, as they all had an idea it was certain death as a suspected spy to venture over the borders of that poor land. But, darn it all, when I got to Paris, Russia was closed, especially for women workers, & I went to Bucharest with 2 other nurses to do some Baby Welfare work – as I was not a specialist in that line. I will never forget that trip on the Simplon Express- maybe you know it. When we landed after 4 day of the train at 1.30 A.M. in May – nobody to meet us as telegrams never arrive in that benighted land, nobody who spoke even French, and no street lights beyond the station & no cabs, even. We had picked up an attractive young Roumanian on the train who proved our life saver. We found a tiny cart & small boy in charge of it who took our bags & then the parade started & walked miles in the pitchy dark town to a hotel where the chief nurse lived.

Bucharest, after the war, simply could not & still cannot accommodate it's guests. We were refused there were supposed to be some Red Cross rooms but they were occupied, and as it was nearly 3 A.M. we begged & finally were given an attic hall with 2 beds. As I was the smallest I had to spend the night on a bench fenced in by duffel bags.

I certainly didn't intend to go into detail but the memory of that dreadful night always makes me eloquent. Since then I've slept on a bench in a station, ridden on a unlighted train, and, well you know how bad those countries can be. Italy during the war was luxury compared to what I've found since the war in Roumania.

I spent that summer in Bucharest – rather lonely as I lived & kept house with a devilish chief nurse – the other girls were scattered. She kept me because I learned Roumanian & spoke French & was therefore useful.

We turned over our Baby Work to Lady Paget's unit from the League of R.C. Soc. In Sept & sailed from Constantsa on the Black Sea, via Constantinople & Athens – the Corinth Canal & finally – Naples. And there, I was surprised & relieved to find that I landed without any of the feelings that tormented me on previous visits – Naples being the home of a certain dashing young Artillery Officer. I had a wonderful time showing my pal & a Y.W.C.A. girl about the all the spots I knew, – & then on to Rome, Florence, Milano, Switzerland, & finally Paris in much straightened circumstances financially. After 4 months in Paris – Oct. to Feb. – many rumors that we were to go here, there, & other place, & an assignment to a very special Hospital train that was to go to Poland – (we had such fun getting it ready from curtains for the windows & bunks to silver for the table, and then the A.R.C. after spending about 25.000 francs on the fitting up found the tracks in Poland were too wide & it was taken apart & put away). I went back to Roumania for the Junior Red Cross, and by special request, & then I spent months in a little town in a Carpathians among peasants. We – my pal and I lived in a peasant cottage, whitewashed & simple, and really life was good, even if we did have a hard job. Then after a summer at a Tbc. Sanitarium in Constantsa – a wonderful experience – I asked for release & came back home Nov. 1921 – after a vacation in Budapest – Vienna (a city of cities) and Prague.

In January I went on duty as night superior at Bellevue & stuck it out for 9 long months, and the when a girl friend from Roumania arrived here with a scholarship for the N.Y. School of Social Research, we took a tiny box of an apartment together, furnished it halfway, & now I am doing private nursing as a shortcut to wealth tho' certainly not fame.

Last month I had a very tempting offer from the Red Cross to go back to Europe – either to Warsaw- or Sofia, and- I turned it down.

Let it be said that never before have I turned a deaf ear to old Dame Opportunity when she suggested travel, but, I really began to fancy my little apartment, and couldn't rush right off and leave Christine Galitzi my Roumanian friend alone in a strange country. I've been there myself & I know.

But, sometimes I get lonesome, and then I kick myself for not going, & I dream of Paris – that dear old place, where I had so much time on my hands, and roamed about in so many funny places. If I could only stand just now – at early twilight – at the Place de la Concorde, and see the little

taxis spinning around those corners, & the soft lights, & the Tuileries fountain – oh my. I'm homesick for the smell of chestnuts on a grey, damp fall day – for Pruniers, the Savoia (Noel Peters) and my pet little restaurant behind the Madelaine – Bernard's where I ate crème chocolate every night. Maybe I'd better stop, or the paper will get soft & blurry out of sympathy for my sorrows.

If you ever go to Roumania, let me know beforehand, if you can, & I can send you all sorts of addresses & contacts.

Europe will always draw me – any part of it, but, I think I'll always remain true to my first love Italy. Even France fades into the background, & the first time I went through Italy en route to Bucharest, I hung out of the car window from Domodossola on the Swiss border to Trieste, that night, when it was pitch dark, & my eyes were full of cinders, that had collected during the day. We left Padova early in the evening & from then on I was particularly on edge with excitement – going through the Veneto – Venice – excuse me for letting go again. Old age makes people sentimental, anyhow.

It is so nice to feel I have an old friend back because we were good friends once, weren't we? And how sorry I am I didn't meet & know your wife. Were you in Paris when I was there a year ago this Nov.? Is there any chance of knowing when your book will be out? How proud I will be some day in the not-very-distant-future to say "Oh yes, Ernest Hemingway. Used to know him quite well during the war." I've always known you would stand out some day – from the background, and it is always a pleasure to have one's judgment confirmed.

May I hope from an occasional line from you? Friends are great thing to have, and I appreciate them more every year- but, oh there's a woeful waste of them – and some disappear as fast as you collect new ones.

I'm not reminiscing on Milano, Padova, etc. – on purpose, because I really must stop, but, it's been great – "priceless" to have this long talk with you – tho' I haven't said any of the things I meant to when I began.

With my best wishes to you & Hadley – if I may speak of her so – and a strong grasp of the hand – as they say in Roumania.

Your old buddy- Von
(Oh excuse me, it's Ag)
142 East 27th St. New York

Illustrations



Agnes von Kurowsky and Ernest Hemingway, Milan, 1918 [58]



American National Red Cross photograph collection (Library of Congress) [59]

Title

- Tekir Crheol, Rumania

Created / Published

- 12 December 1921 [date received]

[58] "Agnes Von Kurowsky (1892–1984)," *Working Nurse.* https://www.workingnurse.com/articles/agnes-von-kurowsky-1892–1984-literary-muse.

[59] "Tekir, Crheol, Rumania," *Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017679703/.

Headings

- - American Red Cross
- - Romania--Techirghiol

Although the name does not appear expressly in this photo, it is obvious that it is Agnes von Kurowsky. We can rely both on comparison with other wartime photos we have of her, especially from Italy, but also on the fact that she was the only American Red Cross nurse at Techirghiol at that time (summer of 1921). Moreover, in the next photo from Techirghiol, she is even named.



Title: All the boys of the summer camp, which is attached to the Sanatorium of Tuberculous Children at Tekir-Ghiol, spent their vacation in the green biggott offered by the Juniors. The great green giants sheltered every month 100 boys, who thanks to Miss Von Rurowsky (sic!), the American representative of the Juniors, have been introduced to the joys of volley ball, basket ball, football, etc. [60] Source: American National Red Cross photograph collection (Library of Congress).[61]

Created / Published

14 October 1921 [date received]

Headings

- American Red Cross
- Romania—Techirghiol

[60] In our analysis we used the form "Romania" and "Techirghiol," but kept the original "Roumania," "Rumania" and "Tekir-Ghiol" or "Tekir, Crheol" for the quotes and documents.

[61] *Library of Congress*, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017679531/.

Negotiations
in the Jazz Age and the Avant-Garde

Jazzing Up the City.
The Reception of American Music and Dance in Interwar Bucharest

Elena Butoescu

Introduction

Romanian politics underwent significant transformations after the Great Union of 1918, and subsequent economic, social, and cultural changes impacted on the evolution of Romanian social institutions as well as on its industrial development. Following World War One, Romania experienced a formative historical period, which made the transition from the Old regime to the centralization of the political and administrative system, the development of constitutional nationalism, the imperatives of literacy, and the modernization of the society. This transition "from multinational empires to national independence"[1] in interwar Eastern Europe was not a smooth, linear progression towards the process of nation-building and citizenship, but, rather, it was prone to continual setbacks and discouraging deadlocks, marked by seismic reactions, such as social revolts, uprisings, and rebellions. In the two decades between the two World Wars, "by way of a new constitution (1923) and citizenship law (1924),"[2] Romania experienced higher rates of economic growth and social change. While Bucharest, labeled by Westerners as 'little Paris'[3] or the 'Paris of the East,' "became the largest city in South-Eastern

[1] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania. Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), ix.

[2] Constantin Iordachi, *Liberalism, Constitutional Nationalism, and Minorities. The Making of Romanian Citizenship, c. 1750–1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 4.

[3] Lucian Boia, *Romania. Borderland of Europe*, trans. James Christian Brown (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 274.

Europe, acting as a hub for the whole region,"[4] social division and inequalities evoked the political shallowness, inconsistency and corruption of the institutional structures.

The 1923 Constitution of Romania[5] granted equal rights to all citizens, irrespective of their ethnic origin, and attempted to set the institutional grounds for the transition to liberal democracy in spite of some restrictive provisions.[6] Despite the aftermath of World War One and the terrible losses of lives caused by the conflict, Greater Romania enjoyed cultural prosperity and freedom in the years between the two World Wars, achieving "its fullest expression as a nation-state."[7] The interwar period might appear idealized and creative when compared to the gloomy period before the fall of the Iron Curtain and the end of Communism in Europe in 1989. However, it confronted several challenges: extremist views and alliances with Nazi Germany; authoritarian positions and nationalist viewpoints leading to the emergence of the Legionary movement, which "enjoyed significant appeal among urban workers;"[8] the promotion of right-wing and anti-Semitic parties, which turned Romanian democracy into "a parody of the real thing;"[9] poor social emancipation due to illiteracy and challenging social and economic circumstances; and, finally, the absence of political and intellectual élites

[4] Tom Gallagher, *Modern Romania. The End of Communism, the Failure of Democratic Reform, and the Theft of a Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 25.

[5] This modest attempt at democracy was shortly interrupted by King Carol II's accession to the throne in 1983, when he abolished the 1923 Constitution and established an absolute monarchy in Romania.

[6] Tom Gallagher synchronizes the 1923 Constitution with the 1866 one by commenting on the extensive legislative authority granted to the king, "including the right to veto a bill" (30); the inconsistency of the political parties; administrative corruption supported by local political influence and protectionism; and the unconvincing role of the Parliament in strengthening social cohesion and shaping elections, which "were managed to create an artificial majority for the party whom the king asked to form a government" (30).The agrarian reform which occurred from 1918 to 1921 was really successful and it improved "the condition of the peasantry" (31).

[7] Keith Hitchins, *A Concise History of Romania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 159.

[8] Gallagher, *Modern Romania*, 35.

[9] Ibid, 37.

deprived the Romanian state of a model of democracy which might have provided it a powerful impetus for its economic performance and prosperity:

> It was its shortage of social capital and not of material resources which handicapped Romania as it sought to develop. […] The 1923 constitution was not based on consensus between the major political forces, and this ensured that it would fall victim to the first determined assault on parliamentary government when it occurred fifteen years later.[10]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Romania was still a predominantly agricultural country, and the peasantry consisted of over 80% of the population, the rate of illiteracy being high as compared to other European countries. These facts indicate that no political party was willing to invest in mass education. Attempts at democracy seemed propitious in the 1920s when the two leading parties – the National Liberal and the National Peasant came to power, but the authoritarian regime, social instability, and an innate backwardness as regards reforms prevented Romania from developing and sustaining liberal democratic procedures and institutions.

In matters of foreign policy, Romania depended on the decisions of the great powers, and the great dilemma was whether Romania should embrace Western principles of modernization, urbanization, and cosmopolitanism or refuse integration by complying with its old Phanariot structures and strictures. Such a conundrum resulted in dividing intellectuals into two groupings: Europeanists and traditionalists.[11] This puzzle best exemplifies "the phenomenon of a mismatch between town and countryside,"[12] an aspect which is still visible in contemporary society, extending to other binary oppositions of national ideology, such as progress and tradition, European nationalism and nationalist extremism, the Western model and the native spirit, the interwar/ postwar binary,[13] and even nationalism and Orthodoxism,

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[10] Ibid, 42.

[11] Hitchins, *Concise History*, 160; Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 15; Gallagher, *Modern Romania*, 26; Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2000), passim.

[12] Traian Bratu (1923), in Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 1.

[13] Roland Clark, "The Shape of Interwar Romanian History," *Journal of Romanian Studies* 3, no. 1 (April 2021): (11–42), 15, https://doi.org/10.3828/jrns.2021.3.1.03.

a bizarre and incongruous mixture,[14] which defined not only the far-right Legionary movement but the whole national specificity. This imbalance, however, did not prevent Romania from entering the European stage and playing a significant role in "maintaining the stability and order imposed on the continent after World War One, preserving peace and security and developing good neighbor relations with other countries in the region."[15] Following the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Romania was granted Bessarabia, which, along with Transylvania and Bukovina, united with Romania,[16] but ethnic tensions in Romanian Bukovina continued during the interwar years.

One major objective was to continue the antecedent bilateral policies of alliance with France and England and strengthen relations with the United States. The system of alliances created by the Romanian government aimed to maintain peace and prevent a new conflict. The struggle for independence, economic rebirth, and national recognition dominated interwar Romania, even if most historians admit to an absence of historical solidarity not only throughout interwar Romania, but also up to the present moment.[17] Despite

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[14] Boia, *Istorie și mit*. Boia reveals the paradox adopted by interwar intellectuals of restricting Orthodox Christianity – which encompasses Eastern Europe from Greece to Russia and is not limited to the Romanian territory – to a nationalist perspective, explaining that this is, in fact, a transnational religion, which must not become an ideology (95–96). The battle of the two facets of nationalism – the unorthodox Western model and indigenousness was a major bone of contention in the interwar years, but the general picture was larger than life, since there is no single continuous framework that can shape the turbulence and the huge transformations of Romanian society after the World War One. In Clark's own words, "old institutions, ideas, and individuals adapted to new contexts" (Clark, "The Shape," 15).

[15] Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Romania between the Wars," in *100 Years since the Great Union of Romania*, eds. Dan Dungaciu and Viorella Manolache (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), 105.

[16] Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, 5.

[17] In support of this comment, I shall cite Roland Clark's judgment: "Even though the war helped people to identify with the nation, it did not generate meaningful bonds between citizens and the state" (Roland Clark, "Interwar Romania. Enshrining Ethnic Privilege," in *Interwar East Central Europe, 1918–1941: The Failure of Democracy-building, the Fate of Minorities*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), (144–77) 146. Thus, Romanian constitutional nationalism was different from the Western idea of the nation, being motivated more by politics and by the aim to unification than by social and collective considerations.

some historians' pessimistic opinion that democracy failed to flourish in interwar East Central Europe, Romania included,[18] others outlined the emancipation of citizenship[19] and the sociopolitical restructuring of the country in terms of new reforms. On this subject, I would cite Constantin Iordachi's statement that "the universal male suffrage (1918) and a massive land reform (1921) remodeled Romania into a liberal parliamentary democracy."[20] Here we have, then, two distinct ways of conceiving liberal democracy in interwar Romania. Both approaches are helpful in defining a new type of democracy, which, although influenced by and modeled after French, German, British, and United States liberal principles was context-based and determined both by specific factors in Eastern Europe and by the creation of United Romania.

All the above-mentioned transformations that departed from diplomacy and politics affected, to a large extent, the cultural and social dynamics of interwar Romania. Romania's long-standing relations with France, Germany, Britain, and, more recently, the United States put its stamp on the nation's cultural life, smoothly making the transition from traditional Middle Eastern cultural patterns to unconventional and diverse manifestations. Music and dance embody this unconventional cultural dialogue. In what follows, I shall be concerned with the intercultural exchanges that occurred in the aftermath of World War One and with how the United States influenced – more or less directly – interwar Bucharest by infusing it with sonic imports before Romania's declaration of war on the United States in 1941. For a broader historical perspective, small narratives would complete the picture of Romanian interwar metanarratives by delving into interdisciplinary, intercultural, and transnational sonic inquiries. As such, the aim of this study is to set the Romanian-American jazz relationship within its historical-cultural

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18 Ramet, "Interwar East-Central Europe, 1918–1941. The Failure of Democracy-Building, the Fate of Minorities – An Introduction," in *Interwar East Central Europe, 1918–1941*, ed. Ramet (See Note17), (1–34) passim.

19 Even this concept has a lower profile in Central and South-Eastern Europe than in the states of Western Europe.

20 Iordachi, *Liberalism*, 598.

and critical-analytical contexts to explain how American music and dance were tailored to meet local conditions in interwar Bucharest.

American Music and Dance in Interwar Romania

In 1951, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej characterized interwar Romania as "a colony of Anglo-Franco-American imperialism,"[21] a declaration which pulled the strings of the ruling class to influence their decisions in keeping the working class under control. Gheorghiu-Dej was biased and wrote under the influence of communist ideology. Another biased position was Nicolae Iorga's, who feared that the disappearance of the peasant world would mean the extinction of the traditional, rural space, which preserved the Romanian spiritual values intact. Anti-Semitism was also a distorted angle which many Romanian intellectuals fell into the trap of, considering that the only way was the Christian Orthodox way: "The anti-Semitic League of the National Christian Defense (LNCD) led by A.C. Cuza did not hesitate to address voters in Bessarabia with bilingual (Romanian and Russian) election posters."[22] Generally, the Romanian elite judged all social aspects through the lens of ideology, and this insular view throws little light on the historiography of interwar Romania. Reading the past using an interdisciplinary and un-ideological perspective as well as a new temporal trajectory might be a new way of understanding Romania's historical evolution and choices after World War One. My reading would be from the perspective of music history. It would be a Bucharest-centered viewpoint, situating the interwar period within a longer temporal frame, from 1880, when the US government opened a diplomatic legation in Bucharest, to 1941, when Romania declared war on the United States. What could we learn about interwar Romania if we approached it from an artistic perspective? What lifestyle dominated Bucharest? What were the major influences in music and dance? In this process of

[21] Clark, "The Shape," 32.

[22] Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Introduction," in *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda*, eds. Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmitt (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), (1–24) 8.

acculturation, was the resulting intercultural exchange balanced? What socio-cultural configurations resulted from this musical contact between American popular culture and Romania in interwar Bucharest?

Using alternative frameworks for conceptualizing the internal dynamics of geopolitical alliances while explaining their impact on rewriting historical narratives, this study aims at an interdisciplinary, intercultural, and transnational sonic exploration.

There were many driving forces that shaped Romanian artistic life during the two World Wars, and most of them, if not all, were discussed in the previous subchapter. The artistic life was tied to specific historical events and cultural and artistic trends imported from France, Germany, Austria, Great Britain, and America. In the first half of the twentieth century, many Romanian composers and musicians, in their quest for national identity (a difficult task, given the ethnic diversity), blended various cultures, drawing eclectically on various streams of folk American music as well as urban and rural popular repertories in order to create new artistic forms. Bucharest was evolving from "Little Paris" to "Little New York."[23]

The 1920s were dominated by mainstream music. Mihail Jora,[24] the famous twentieth-century pianist, composer, and conductor, the first musical director of the Romanian Radio, was writing in 1920 that there were three "serious" music institutions in Bucharest, all patronized by the Royal Family: the Bucharest State Philharmonic Orchestra, playing symphonic music; *Cântarea României* (*Singing for Romania*), an institution of choral competitions; and the Romanian Opera.[25] One of the most influential Romanian

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[23] Ioana Pârvulescu labelled interwar Bucharest, stamped with the scent of Hollywood, jazz music and dance as "Little New York." ("Cronica Pesimistei: Micul New York," *România literară*, September 5–12, 2008, 35. Accessed July 1, 2023, https://arhiva.romanialiterara.com/index.pl/micul_new_york).

[24] Mircea Bârsan, "Mihail Jora." *Însemnări ieșene* 2. no. 24 (1937): (879–80) 880. Mircea Bârsan nicknames Mihail Jora "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche" of Romanian music (880), after Jora was awarded the National Prize in 1937.

[25] Mihail Jora, "Cronica muzicală. Concertele Filarmonicei." *Viața Romînească. Revistă literară și științifică* XLIV (XII) (Iași: Institutul de Arte Grafice și Editură Viața Romînească, 1920), (620–3) 620.

jazz musicians who became interested in the cultural interplay of cultural music and jazz, namely Richard Oschanitzky, was Jora's student at Bucharest Conservatory.[26]

As early as the twentieth century, artists became more interested in the popular folk art of previous centuries. The main challenge for promoters of Romanian national culture was to accept the new experimental music from America – which acquired a strong taste for hybrid indigenous styles – as an alternative to mainstream choral and classical music.[27]

For instance, nineteenth-century New Orleans witnessed the first attempts at playing short, detached staccato notes when Afro-American drummers, accompanied by string instruments and feminine voices, were playing their instruments while stomping their feet. This image details the slave dances that were quite common in Congo Square – nowadays Louis Armstrong Park – and that represented the African ritual ceremonies, which incorporated sound and movement. Later, throughout the interwar period, this tradition was observed in other parts of the New World, such as Louisiana, Texas, and Georgia.[28] A product of New Orleans, jazz[29] as popular dance music was born

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[26] At that time, Mihail Jora was professor of harmony, counterpoint and composition at Bucharest Conservatory.

[27] In his study on the reception of choral music in the interwar period, Dorin Mircea Simionescu includes only Romanian learned music founded on specific national traditions and folkloric themes. Composers such as D. Cuclin, I. N. Nottara, T. Rogalski, G. Enacovici, A. Alessandrescu, C. Georgescu, M. Jora, M. Andricu were influenced by the education they received in Germany, but "exhibited a dualism in terms of musical language" (60), because they added a national touch to the universal language of music, they adopted from studying abroad. See Dorin Mircea Simionescu, "Romanian Choral Music in the Interwar Period," *Altarul Reîntregirii (The Altar of Reunification)* XXII. no. 3 (2017): (59–76) 60.

[28] Ted Gioia, *The History of Jazz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 2.

[29] In a review on Ernest Klein's *Etymological Dictionary*, Andrei Bantaș wrote: "[…] in connection with certain words, there is no mention of the evolution of meaning, or of the meanings added more or less inexplicably, or of the derivatives either. For instance, in connection with the word jazz, the verb is not mentioned at all, while the adjective jazzy, with widely different meanings ('noisy,' 'blatant,' 'striking') is not explained at all. Under the heading of the adjective hot – 'very warm,' – there is no explanation as regards the utilization of this word in connection with jazz music (the current supposition that hot or hot jazz means 'native music,' 'from the source,' 'unadulterated,' being neither confirmed, nor discarded." Andrei Bantaș, "Dr. Ernest Klein, A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary

in the twentieth century from two parents: ragtime and blues. As a hybrid of cultures and styles, jazz music and performance represent a patchwork of Ragtime, Dixieland, and Boogie-Woogie blues. It is a reinterpretation of African aesthetics into African-American culture.

The first sonic evidence of jazz in America dates as far back as 1917, when "the vinyls with Original Dixieland Jazz Band" were released.[30] American jazz enjoyed a wide audience in Romania[31] and was a heterogeneous mixture of European, American folk, and African-American spiritual songs: George Gershwin wrote compositions for Broadway as well as for symphonic orchestras, while Aaron Copland combined classical music with free-form jazz improvisations. In interwar Europe, jazz was integrated into French culture, which adopted a distinctly American style of music to make it their own, eventually. Among the interwar French performers and composers influenced by jazz music, we may mention not only classical musicians, such as Claude Debussy, Erik Satie, Joseph Maurice Ravel, Darius Milhaud, but also pioneers of jazz like Django Reinhardt, Stéphane Grappelli, and Ray Ventura. In Germany, two major bands were visible in the 1920s: Eric Borchard's small combo and Stefan Weintraub's *Syncopators.* Tom Smith mentions that "Shortly before World War I, musicians with strange Romanian surnames performed syncopated music in Germany."[32] Echoing various critics, Brian Locke pointed out that "jazz entered the European listening experience with the arrival of African-American troops in France and Germany after the war."[33] British jazz was

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of the English Language. Vol. I. (A-K). Amsterdam, London, and New York: Elsevier Publishing Company. 1967," *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 12 (1966): (379–81) 380.

30 Alex Vasiliu, "Jazz and Politics in the Obsessing Decade and the Following Years," *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest* 10/2, no. 38 (April–June 2019): (125–38) 125.

31 See Idem, "Istoria Jazzului românesc în documente inedite," in *Noi istorii ale muzicilor românești. Ideologii, instituții și direcții componistice în muzica românească din secolele XX–XXI*, eds. Valentina Sandu-Dediu and Nicolae Gheorghiță, 2nd vol, (Bucharest: Muzicală, 2020), passim.

32 Tom Smith, *Royal Hipsters of Jazz. Romania's Surprising Jazz Origins, Its Cultural Influences, and Analysis of Its Written Histories* (Raleigh, USA: Bunk Johnson Publishing, 2018), 14.

33 Brian Locke, "'The Periphery is Singing Hit Songs:' The Globalization of American Jazz and the Interwar Czech Avant-Garde," *American Music Research Center Journal*. no. 12 (2002): (25–55) 26.

slightly different, and its cosmopolitan nature "was shaped not only by American influences but also by European and global styles."[34] Jack Hylton Orchestras, Spike Hughes, and Reginald Foresythe adapted American jazz to British taste, since it was too exuberant for their preference for respectable beats: "In the 1920s and 1930s, boiling hot American jazz didn't really suit the British reserve."[35]

As a social phenomenon of the 1920s, New World Jazz was one of the most vibrant cultural influences in interwar Romania as well. The sense of freedom that outpoured Central and Eastern Europe after a tumultuous and bloody war can be captured in the powerful, strident sounds of jazz, an early instance of globalization. In the 1920s, the Romanian jazzband named *The Hot Chaps*, founded in 1926 and conducted by saxophonist Emil Berindei, who studied Polytechnics in London, played in Jack Hilton's band, and returned to Romania in 1925 to become "an engineer with the Telephone Society."[36] Berindei was the founder of the band *Jazzul telefoanelor* (*Telephone Jazz*), which was commonly broadcast at the Radio Station in Bucharest.[37] Actually, the Radio Station broadcast only live music in the interwar period. As musical director of the Romanian Radio, Mihail Jora broadcast *The Hot Chaps* live quite often, beginning with 1928,[38] when the Romanian Radio Broadcasting Company was founded.

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34 George McKay in Gillian A. M. Mitchell, *The British National Daily Press and Popular Music, c. 1956–1975* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2019), 23.

35 Bob Stanley, "They got rhythm: the interwar British dance bands who pointed towards pop." *The Guardian*, May 4, 2022, Accessed June 28, 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/music/2022/may/04/they-got-rhythm-the-interwar-british-dance-bands-who-pointed-towards-pop.

36 Vasiliu, "Jazz and Politics," 126.

37 Romanian Radio represented a major mediator between the public and the foreign artistic imports: "For most of its history, Romanian jazz has been driven by radio, including, but not limited to utilitarian purposes (functional dancing, informational dissemination. Radio (then later television) also fostered subversive youth culture (especially when jazz was discouraged and/or forbidden) and appealed to those savouring improvisation" (Smith, *Royal Hipsters*, 11).

38 See Vasiliu, "Jazz and Politics," 126; Smith, *Royal Hipsters*, 14.

Tales of the Romanian Jazz Age

The roaring 20s invaded not only America but also Europe and, implicitly, Romania. A post-war desire to regain lost time, forget the atrocities and the sufferings caused by the war, and live life to its fullest resulted in an intense tempo of life. No wonder, then, the propensity to assimilate jazz into European culture as an antidote to the shocks and disruptions of World War One.

Strangely enough, very few studies devoted to music and musicological information mention jazz and other unconventional styles that flourished and influenced cultural life throughout the Romanian interwar period. For instance, Dorin Mircea Simionescu, when contextualizing choral music and its neighbors in the interwar era, reveals George Enescu's "synthesis of the national with the universal in the musical language,"[39] includes Romanian music within the global Postromantic genre, describes its polyphonic effect, admits to the post-war foreign influences coming from Germany, Italy and France – Impressionism, Neoclassicism and Verism[40] – but does not even casually acknowledge the resonances of jazz and American folk music. By the same token, Jim Samson comments on modern Romanian interwar music but never explicitly makes any reference to American imports:

> In Bucharest too there was some contact with modernist idioms, including a Bartók concert, in which Enescu and Bartók together performed the latter's fiercely difficult Second Violin Sonata. Native Romanian voices were less adventurous. They include the modest output of Ionel Perlea (1900–70), whose Op. 10 String Quartet (1922–23) is broadly in German Romantic vein, though its doina-like slow movement has some affinities with Enescu, and whose Variations of 1934 is a more ambitious enterprise hovering somewhere between romanticism and modernism. [...] Also important were Theodor Rogalski (1901–54), who studied in Paris and wrote in a Ravel-influenced manner, and Constantin Nottara, whose Poem for Violin and Orchestra of 1920 draws together influences from both France and Romania.[41]

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[39] Simionescu, "Romanian Choral Music," 6.
[40] Ibid, 61.
[41] Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans*, vol 8 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 409.

Romanian literature was more generous when it came to observing the presence of jazz on the Romanian cultural scene. Mircea Eliade described the interwar period in his novel *Nuntă în cer* as representing an era of jazz and cocktail, of the coiffure *à la garçonne*, and of mini dresses, ending above the knee.[42] Bogdan Barbu states that jazz, as an innovative concept, was viewed skeptically by the elders, whereas young people were enthusiastic about the dynamic life and rhythm set by the music.[43] It was most of the time associated with noise, stridency, and tumult, which were exactly the sounds triggered by the consequences of the war in the human brain. Besides, considering the Manifesto of Futurism,[44] which celebrated the dynamics of urban life, war machinery, and the restlessness of the modern world, along with Luigi Russolo's revolutionary manifesto, *The Art of Noises* (1913), which called for the assimilation of a spectrum of different sound effects into musical compositions, we infer that the hissing and roaring modern age was a product of the marriage between the Industrial Revolution and the two World Wars.

Mircea Eliade described the night parties in Bucharest, where the elites were dancing Charleston, foxtrot, and black bottom by the gramophone. Nightlife in Bucharest was lively, with plenty of dance clubs specializing in foxtrot, Charleston, and the South-American cha-chacha. In his novel *Calea Victoriei*, Cezar Petrescu depicted women's feelings by comparing them to jazz music: "When I was young, their heart was a melancholic infirmary. Now their heart sounds like noisy jazz."[45] In Cezar Petrescu's illustration of the Jazz Age, the atmosphere is cacophonous, the sounds are "exotic and irrational,"[46] fascinating and disorderly at the same time. Dan C. Mihăilescu's *The Rules of Bucharest Chic* chronicles Bucharest's dancing parties, pointing to the bourgeois lifestyle, which gives a strong sense of glamour, *savoir vivre*,

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[42] Mircea Eliade, cited in Bogdan Barbu, *Vin americanii! Prezența simbolică a Statelor Unite în România Războiului Rece: 1954–1971* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2006), 281.

[43] Barbu, *Vin americanii*, 281.

[44] *The Manifesto of Futurism* was written by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and published in 1909.

[45] Barbu, *Vin americanii*, 281, my translation.

[46] Ibid, 283.

and post-war alternative forms of expression that came from European and American cultures:

> Chic, *bon ton*, fashion, "good manners" are undoubtedly law-like psycho-social categories. The 1900 society man had to abide by an incredible host of gospel-truths written down in the code of manners: assiduous frequentation of dancing parties, fencing and gentlemen's clubs, horse races and theaters; membership with committees and commissions, and philanthropic organizations; yearly voyages abroad [...] weddings-baptisms-funerals, varnishing days and opening nights, dinner parties, horseback riding, court trials, flower fights in public parks, spiritualism seances, palmistry, Masonic lodges, oneiromancy, physiognomy, the almanack of the nobility, the rules of *cotillon*, the philosophy of gastronomy, gilded visiting cards, season tickets (and first-tier seats) at the National Theater, heraldry, and so on and so forth.[47]

Dancing parties were marked by foxtrot, swing, Charleston, and jazz. Traditionalists saw Charleston and jazz as subcultural manifestations, especially since they were promoted by Afro-Americans. Bogdan Barbu exemplifies this reluctance with a newspaper published in Constanța in 1926, which described Charleston as "a black dance, of the most corrupt and debauched nature, banned by the American laws."[48] Constantin Mendea introduces jazz music in a similar derogatory connotation: "*black music* born under the American sun,"[49] while George Sbârcea published in 1974 *Jazzul, o poveste cu negri* (*Jazz, a Story with Black People*).[50]

It is, therefore, noticeable that there was a negative attitude against jazz music at the beginning of the twentieth century. Romanian culture, according to Rodica Zafiu, adopted the word 'jazz' in the first half of the twentieth century and included it in the *Dictionary of the Romanian Language* in 1937 as a polysemantic word – *jazz* and its derivative *jazzband*. A similar

47 Dan. C. Mihăilescu, "The Rules of Bucharest Chic," in *Bucharest, A Sentimental Guide. An Anthology*, eds. Aurora Fabritius, Erwin Kessler, and Adrian Solomon, trans. Florin Bican, Alina Cârâc, Michi Constantinescu Fărcaș, Daniela Neacșu, Adrian Solomon, Monica Voiculescu, and Ioana Zirra (Bucharest: The Romanian Cultural Foundation, 2001), 87.

48 *Dobrogea artistică și sportivă* 2, no. 22, November 4–7, 1926, qtd. in Bogdan Barbu, *Vin americanii*, 282, my translation.

49 Constantin D. Mendea, *Istoria Jazz-ului clasic* (Bucharest: Euro Press Group, 2018), 9.

50 George Sbârcea, *Jazzul, o poveste cu negri* (Bucharest: Muzicală, 1974), passim.

reluctance to and negative reception of the music is noticeable in the dictionary entries. Jazz is characterized by "a wild and grotesque rhythm,"[51] while the only quote given by the dictionary is one from Cezar Petrescu's novel *Întunecare* (*Dimness*), published in 1927: "*Jazzband* screams." Various articles deal with complaints regarding jazz: some people complained that they were prevented from enjoying a drink in good companionship by the noisiness of jazz bands;[52] others were concerned with the mad world they lived in due to the influence of jazz.[53] The *Dictionary* also specified that the word was a new entry in the Romanian language, a neologism dating from 1918. The presence of the word and its evolution in interwar Romanian society was noted in the journals of the time, and Rodica Zafiu points out some of them: in 1924, Ion Barbu published in *Contimporanul* a poem whose title reflects the social change that jazz caused: *Jazz band pentru nunțile necesare* (*Jazzband for the necessary weddings*); the theatrical performances was even helped by jazz-bands if necessary.[54] It is, then, obvious that jazz as a musical performance not only entered the Romanian stage earlier than the 1920s but was also alive in Romanian society, changing its mentality and dynamics. The presence of the term in Romanian publications before 1920 indicates that there were a few factors contributing to its adoption from American culture and assimilation by the Romanian mindset.

Due to political and economic hardships experienced by Romanian ethnics before World War One, the first major wave of Romanian immigration to America happened between the years 1895 and 1920, with the great majority coming from Transylvania.[55] One anonymous Romanian who immigrated with this first wave composed a song about the country he left behind, which

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51 Rodica Zafiu, "Jazzul și limba română," *Dilema Veche*, February 23-March 1, 2023, Accessed July 1, 2023. https://dilemaveche.ro/sectiune/editoriale-si-opinii/pe-ce-lume-traim/jazzul-si-limba-romana-2244405.html.

52 *Adevărul*, December 1, 1922, in Zafiu, "Jazzul și limba română."

53 *Rampa*, October 24, 1923, in Zafiu, "Jazzul și limba română."

54 *Viața Românească* no. 10, 1920 in Zafiu, "Jazzul și limba română."

55 Ramona Fruja Amthor, "Romanians and Romanian Americans, 1870–1940," in *Immigrants in American History. Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, ed. Elliott Robert Barkan (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013), (575–84) 577.

he deeply missed. Clarence Williams, a jazz musician from Mississippi, who made famous a lot of twentieth-century musicians, such as Bessie Smith, Louis Armstrong, and Coleman Hawkins, bought this song from the Romanian immigrant and recorded it in a Chicago studio with other fellow musicians: Joseph Samuels, Jules Levy Jr., Ephraim Hannaford, Harry Raderman, Larry Briers. They were all members of the band *Johnnie's Jazz Boys*. The song *Roumania* was very successful back then. Besides quite a few vocalists, big bands and combos dominated the Bucharest music stage. Sergiu Malagamba was a dandy of the Romanian 1930s-1940s, an eccentric, colorful musician who adapted Italian fashion to interwar Bucharest and founded the first symphonic jazz orchestra in Bucharest in 1942. He conducted this orchestra at the "ARO" Hall, and he was the one to invent the term *malagambist*, which in Romanian designated a decadent fashion and music culture, a non-conformist and frivolous behavior. In 1935, in Kishinev, he made his debut as a drummer with Nicolae Cireș Orchestra, and in 1936, in Bucharest, with Max Holm and Joe Reininger Orchestra. Up to 1941, he conducted his first pop music concert with Malagamba Orchestra at the Melody and Continental, and he played jazz music with Teddy Cosma and Dinu Ștefănescu at *Mon Jardin Cabaret.* Teddy Cosma,[56] Viorel Cosma's father, was a jazz pianist who played for the Barașeum Jewish Theatre between 1941 and 1944. Malagamba and his friends were arrested in 1942 and sent to Târgu Jiu internment camp. Jazz was forbidden, American influences were considered a threat to national security, jazz musicians were considered socially deviant, and the authorities hoped that this arrest would serve as an example for those who embraced American "indecent" behavior and lifestyle.[57]

[56] Theodor Cosma's real name was Theodor Zwiebel. Between 1934–1940 he was a conductor of the Radio Orchestra, being highly appreciated for his arrangement, compositions, authenticity, form, sound and thematic improvisations. He founded and conducted the vibrant Jazz Radio Orchestra (1934–1937) and Electrecord Record House Orchestra (1950–1962). He played fabulous duets with pianists Bibi Alexandrescu and Jancy Körössy (who settled in Bucharest in 1946). Teddy Cosma was greatly influenced by the American jazz pianist Teddy Wilson, famous during the big band era of 1930s and '40s (Vasiliu "Jazz and Politics," 127).

[57] Barbu, *Vin americanii*, 288.

In the 1930s, a well-known name associated with jazz music was George Corologos, a Romanian composer and conductor who studied at the Bucharest Conservatory[58] and founded Corologos Jazz Band. His orchestra is mentioned in Eugen Barbu's novel *Incognito*,[59] and also in the *Catalog of Copyright Entries*.[60] One reason for the popularity of jazz in Bucharest might be attributed to the American bands playing in the capital city, the vinyls imported from North America, and the broadcast of live music on the radio:

> The American jazz styles were more successful due to the foreign bands playing in Bucharest: Savoy Orpheans, Sam Wooding, Valaida Snow with a black revue band and, especially, James Cook, the conductor of the big band, which was highly appreciated at the Lafayette Galleries and at the Radio in the broadcasts of 1936. […] The success of this type of music in restaurants, at the cinema and at the radio determined, of course, the apparition of an increasingly large number of Romanian players who had gigs and a source of income. If we take into consideration that in the interwar period the musical programmes at Radio Romania consisted only of live broadcasts, the proliferation of bands also ensuring the supremacy of jazz in our country is evident.[61]

The broadcasts of the Romanian Radio Station were crucial in the dissemination of music and information as well as in the education of the general public. Jazz symbolized an act of protest and a statement on freedom both in America and in Europe throughout the twentieth century, even when the web of totalitarianism covered Central and Eastern Europe. During the interwar years, broadcast radio was the main medium that transmitted essential information regarding local, national, and international news and a crucial "promoter of jazz."[62]

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[58] Viorel Cosma, "Corologos, George," *in Muzicieni din România: Lexicon bio-bibliografic*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1999), (67–68) 67.

[59] Eugen Barbu, *Incognito*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Albatros, 1975), 91.

[60] *Catalog of Copyright Entries* 12, 3rd series, "Music," part 5, no. 2 (July-December 1958), Washington: The Library of Congress, 1959, 1198.

[61] Vasiliu, "Jazz and Politics," 126–7.

[62] Barbu, *Vin americanii*, 285.

Conclusion

The assimilation of American influences by Romanian culture from 1880 to 1941 and even beyond, in addition to the involvement of various musicians and composers in promoting different, usually hybrid styles, to a population that was traditionalist in manifestations and reluctant to innovation and improvisation, shows that people were eager to actively change culture and connect visions of society via musical compositions or international cultural standards. Radio broadcasting emerged at a time when a culture for music already pervaded Romania but where a tradition of listening to broadcasting was absent. Listening to the radio was an individual rather than a social event, and interwar Romania was amazingly affordable in terms of offering the general public the possibility to listen attentively to live performances – either in restaurants, concert halls, or theatres – and gramophone records together. At the same time, the radio as a domestic medium provided listeners with a different experience by negotiating tradition and innovation in creating the kind of musical background people were familiar with. Broadcasting experts did that by adapting jazz music and its branches (foxtrot, blues, Charleston, swing, etc.) together with their message to the new medium. Interwar Romania was divided into jazz fans and critics of American culture. However, Romanian elites in Bucharest embraced the new musical wave and extravagant dance rhythms, integrating them into their national culture, dominated by folk, classical, and choral music. Jancy Körössy was a representative of ethno-jazz, which stands as proof that the process of acculturation was a successful, a mutual, and beneficial one. With the participation of so many musicians in the development and evolution of Romanian jazz music, art, culture, society, and identity in interwar Romania were permanently transformed by the exploration of jazz, which paved the way for future cultural exchanges between America and Romania.

Garçonne, but Make Her Flapper. Using American Femininity Models to Re-Fashion the Romanian 'Modern Girl'*

Sonia D. Andraș

This paper follows cultural negotiations through fashion and beauty between Romania and America. This dialogue occurred almost entirely via Paris materially and symbolically in the interwar era. Especially in terms of culture and fashion, Paris functioned as a nexus where Parisian models, ideas, and fashion icons, some of Romanian origin, were equally disseminated in Europe and across the Atlantic. Unlike other non-Western influence locations, Romanian women adopted Western fashions decades, even centuries, before men started replacing Ottoman attires with "German" suits since the mid-nineteenth century.[1] But this did not mean Romanian women were more emancipated than their Western counterparts. The early-twentieth-century practical and revolutionary feminist rebellion incorporated or copied masculine fashions, as seen with the 1920s boyish flapper or *garçonne*. As historian Lucy Moore described her, the flapper was "a chick desperately flapping her wings as she tried to fly, although she had not yet grown adult feathers."[2] Flappers most often did so by adapting them to their gendered prescriptions, thus preventing

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1 Constantin Oros, *Pagini din istoria costumului* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1998), 146–7.

2 Lucy Moore, *Anything Goes: A Biography of the Roaring Twenties* (London: Atlantic Books, 2009), 61.

severe disturbances in the system.[3] The flapper's appearance contrasted with the haute couture romantic Jeanne Lanvin creations with an eighteenth-century inspiration, alongside the Egyptomania sparked by the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb, which added to voting rights for women who, as Tiffany Webber put it, proceeded to "cut their hair short and showed off their legs."[4] In an American context, according to Moore, the flapper could best be illustrated by Zelda Fitzgerald, with all her positive and negative traits, as seen in the novels penned by her husband, F. Scott Fitzgerald.[5] In terms of fashion, the flapper's "unrestricted and boyish" look was marked by a significant reduction of fabrics used in dressmaking, from underwear to outfits and accessories.[6] In Romania's case, this aesthetic, cultural, and social undressing would be somewhat redressed by the times of the new interwar and Communist women.

Owing to the fluidity of terminology, some clarification is needed as relevant academic and journalistic literature uses various combinations of the terms "new," "modern," "girl," or woman as general references to early-twentieth-century women. In Romanian history during modernity, the main character is the modern girl, the "undressing" half of the interwar equation, known in a French context as *garçonne* and an Anglo-Saxon one as flapper. While the two terms have been interchangeable, their use in French or English can imply a propensity towards any of these spheres. I use the term modern girl specifically for the 1920s Romanian woman, whose image blended various Western, European, national, and local streams. The modern girl's contrasting symbols, the 1930s new woman[7] followed by the new Communist woman, represent the "(re-)dressing" other half towards more recent history.

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[3] Jo B. Paoletti and Claudia Brush Kidwell, "Men and Women: Dressing the Part," in *The Fashion Reader*, eds. Linda Welters and Abby Lillethun, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2014), (202–4) 202.

[4] Tiffany Webber, "The Modern Era: 1910–1960," in Welters, Lillethun, *The Fashion Reader* (See Note 2), 88.

[5] Moore, *Anything Goes*, 61.

[6] Ibid, 65.

[7] See Sonia D. Andraș, "From Monitorul Oficial to Calea Victoriei: Decoding 1930s Bucharest through Women's Fashion," *Journal of Romanian Studies* 5, no. 1 (April 25, 2023): 27–54, https://doi.org/10.3828/jrns.2023.3.

Being an informed disciplinary study as described by Lisa R. Lattuca,[8] this chapter is neither evaluative nor hierarchical but focuses on the research question type and needs outreach to other fields. In the context of this chapter, the fashion studies-centric methodological system branches out to cultural and social history, semiotics, and cultural studies besides fashion studies, including gender, media, and urban studies. The research integrates geography, history, and cultural studies on Bucharest, Greater Romania, and Central and East Europe. Its main themes stem from 1920s women's fashion into issues of gender, urban culture and infrastructure, modernity, capitalism, industrialism, and consumerism. It thus adds the Romanian cultural, social, and aesthetic space to the larger discussion on post-World War One gendered revolutions, culminating with the rebellious flapper of the so-called "roaring twenties." The research introduces Romania into the literature focusing on fashion on the Paris-New York route,[9] the relationship between fashion and politics,[10] the evolution of *prêt-à-porter*,[11] or silent movie stardom.[12] It introduces fashion to relevant English-language academic works focusing on Romania's cultural and diplomatic relations with the USA,[13] cultural politics and national identity,[14] feminism,[15] or the textile industry.[16]

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8 Lisa R. Lattuca, "Creating Interdisciplinarity: Grounded Definitions from College and University Faculty," *History of Intellectual Culture* 3, no. 1 (2003): (1–20) 5–6.

9 Véronique Pouillard, P*aris to New York: The Transatlantic Fashion Industry in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2021).

10 Djurdja Bartlett, ed., *Fashion and Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019).

11 Amy De La Haye, "The Dissemination of Design from Haute Couture to Fashionable Ready-to-Wear during the 1920s with Specific Reference to the Hodson Dress Shop in Willenhall," *Textile History* 24, no. 1 (January 1993): 39–48, https://doi.org/10.1179/004049693793712196.

12 Agata Frymus, *Damsels and Divas: European Stardom in Silent Hollywood* (Ithaca: Rutgers University Press, 2020); Patrice Petro, ed., *Idols of Modernity: Movie Stars of the 1920s* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010).

13 Flaviu Vasile Rus, *The Cultural and Diplomatic Relations Between Romania and the United States of America: 1880–1920: Documents* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018).

14 Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

15 Mihaela Miroiu, "An Exotic Island: Feminist Philosophy in Romania," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 34, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 233–39, https://doi.org/10.1086/590438.

16 Magdalena Buchczyk, "To Weave Or Not To Weave: Vernacular Textiles and Historical Change in Romania," *Textile* 12, no. 3 (November 2014): 328–45, https://doi.org/10.2752/175183514X14156359536980.

A Quickstep to Freedom

The modern girl disrupted the patriarchal status quo throughout the postwar Western and Westernized world through a practical revolution.[17] She expressed emancipation by wearing fewer fabrics for better mobility and greater freedom.[18] And even if it could be assumed the flapper symbolized young emancipated *garçonnes*, the lifestyle became attractive to middle-aged women.[19] Emancipation could also be witnessed through statistics showing a growing number of higher education students. Women's traditional work and pursuits, including housework alongside making and acquiring clothes, were considerably simplified throughout the interwar era. The worldwide distribution of new technologies offered women more time and substantially less workload and effort for household chores, cooking, and unprecedented food preservation possibilities. The advent of readymade clothing further lessened women's burden effort- and time-wise.[20] Sociologist Catherine Cerchez observed in her late-1920s survey of women's professional and educational life in Romania that working women exhibited a slight decrease in marriages. However, she added that in 1929, the number of girls enrolled in professional or secondary schools more than doubled, which seemed proportional to decreased marriages throughout the country.[21] Yet this situation was not endemic to Romania. The emerging field of social anthropology provided a path for Margaret Mead in the mid-1920s to pursue her field research. Although nowadays "partially discredited," as Moore contended,[22] she could be viewed as an example, and arguably justification, for young women seeking a similar career, as seen in the Romanian Sociology School.

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17 Webber, "The Modern Era," 88.

18 Anne Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), 313.

19 Moore, *Anything Goes*, 74.

20 Ibid, 78.

21 Catherine Cerchez, "Munca femeii și consecințele ei pentru familie și societate," *Buletinul muncii* X, no. 1–6 (February 23, 1929): (49–64) 49–52.

22 Moore, *Anything Goes*, 72.

Visually, the 1920s brought about the boyish, board-like silhouette of the modern girl, nicknamed *garçonne* in Francophone settings or flapper in Anglo-Saxon spaces, used interchangeably in Romanian texts dedicated to women and fashion. The prevalent feminine model was Greta Garbo, a hybrid identity between Europe and America, between Parisian elegance and Hollywood glamour. As Moore put it, the messaging coming from "movie stars and society beauties" transmitted globally, wherever the flapper or *garçonne* flourished, was one that "women were constantly on display – and it was their responsibility to make the best of themselves by using the best products they could afford."[23] Garbo's image contrasted with *haute couture* romanticism from creators like Jeanne Lanvin, inspired chiefly by eighteenth-century styles. This did not remove the rebellious *garçonne* or flapper from history. The difference was a much earlier model, Egyptomania, prompted by Howard Carter's 1922 discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb. But the flapper's ideas did not all relate to the distant past. The era's inclination towards practicality and simplicity relates to victories in women's rights and their gradual entrance into public and professional spaces, previously only for men.[24] This meant that styles previously deemed indecent or unacceptable, like knee-length skirts and short hair, were now popularized. Indeed, bobbed hair has become the hairstyle most readily associated with the 1920s. A lesser-known connection to this trend was the violent reaction against it, even in Paris.[25] Queen Marie of Romania could have played a vital role in this Parisian trend not translating into Romanian. Biographer Guy Gauthier claimed she was likely the first royal woman cutting her hair, following silent movie star Mary Pickford.[26] Another Hollywood-propagated female stereotype of the 1920s was the Vamp, a mid-1915 creation attributed to movie star Theda Bara. Considering Bara's identity as "Al Capone's favourite actress,"1920s Hollywood vamps, especially Bara, alongside Gloria

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[23] Ibid, 70.
[24] Webber, "The Modern Era," 88.
[25] Roberts, "Samson and Delilah Revisited," 65.
[26] Guy Gauthier, *Missy: Reine de Roumanie* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1994), 310.

Swanson or Pola Negri, blurred the boundaries of propriety, morality and strict social structures informing women's lives for centuries. This is especially notable as the beginning of a stage in Hollywood history blending movie stars, gossip, melodrama and various degrees of criminality.

In February 1920, the illustrated monthly *Actualitatea* included a full-page advertisement consisting of a blue-and-grey photograph of a Jeanne D'Arc statue, with writings on all sides. Read clockwise, it presented the "fashion house" *À Jeanne D'Arc*, led by H. Dannhauer, a promise of "exclusive Parisian creations" for dresses, suits, mantles, hats, "high novelties" at its location on Calea Victoriei in Bucharest selling models from "great Parisian houses."[27] On an earlier advertisement page, *Actualitatea* included other fashion stores, like *A la Samaritaine*, selling a wide range of products at fixed prices found on Lipscani Street, adjacent to Calea Victoriei, the *Bertheil* stores on Calea Victoriei for "fashion and luxury items" for ladies and gentlemen, or another Lipscani womenswear store, *G.S. Becheanu*, now managed by Mihail I. Țanovici. On the same page, readers were informed that if they could not find "Cassa" Dortheimer's *Henol*, the best hair color-lightening tincture for 10 to 30 lei,[28] in drugstores or pharmacies, they should contact the general warehouse.[29] This was perfectly congruous with the expanding influence of advertising in the 1920s. As historian Lucy Moore asserted, only in America the number of cosmetic products bought by women grew more than ten-fold between 1915 and 1930.[30] This phenomenon was also a symptom of women's growing economic power.

Women had more opportunities to earn enough money to afford such offers, at least partly, even in Romania. According to feminist Maria C. Buțureanu's 1921 social study of women's situation in Romanian, the gender system was built on an apparent duality between urban and rural women, on the same system of gendered social inequality. From this perspective,

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[27] "À Jeanne D'Arc," *Actualitatea*, February 1, 1920, 32.
[28] Around \$0.2 to \$0.5, \$3 to \$8 in 2023.
[29] "Ads Page," *Actualitatea*, February 1, 1920, 3.
[30] Moore, *Anything Goes*, 70.

urban women were sedentary, decorative, and passive, while peasants were overworked, lacking the right to own their time and possessions.[31] While nationalistic rhetoric tended to sustain this perspective, urban women became increasingly assertive, locking in their identity as *flâneuses* on Bucharest's high streets, as ambassadors of Romanian beauty and colorful contrast to the men's growing anxiety. In the autumn of the same year, the *Femina* section of the daily *Adevărul (The Truth)* included an article on women and industry. The author, signing as Rozina,[32] explored the evolution of women's work from domestic to public spheres due to changes in economic and social theories. According to Rozina, the moment women stepped into industrial work, they made a decisive step toward emancipation. Compared to praising Ancient Roman women for pursuing their duties inside the home, Rozina concluded that her contemporaries would find such appreciation inadequate, considering their activities in factories and workshops.[33]

Meanwhile across the Atlantic, newspapers celebrated a more established elite women's work. The daily *Arizona Republican* located in Phoenix, Arizona, included a note about "Mrs. B. Frank Mebane,"[34] a "prominent Red Cross worker during the World War in France, Servia [Sic] and Roumania," who had befriended Queen Marie of Romania. The anonymous article announced Mebane's future visit to Arizona, purported to wear "a beautiful gown presented to her by Queen Mary of Roumania." The note includes a photograph of Mebane wearing a stylized Romanian folk costume reminiscent of the Queen's style.[35] The image was an older portrait of Mebane, published in the *Independent Woman Magazine*[36] roughly eight months before its printing

31 Maria C. Buțureanu, *Femeia. Studiu Social*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Socec & Co. Bookstore Press, 1921), 51.

32 Most likely Symbolist poet and painter Claudia Milian: Mihail Straje, *Dicționar de pseudonime, anonime, anagrame, astronime, criptonime ale scriitorilor și publiciștilor români* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1973), 446.

33 Rozina, "Femeia și industria," *Adevărul*, October 14, 1921, 2.

34 Relief worker, politician and socialite Lily Connally Morehead Mebane.

35 "She Was Guest of *Roumania* Queen," *Arizona Republican*, February 12, 1922, 5.

36 Betty Shannon, "A Royal Business Woman," *Independent Woman Magazine*, June 1921, 18.

in Arizona. Besides these articles, Americans saw the Queen in various promotional illustrated materials, from illustrated boxes and often tabloid-type reports in local dailies to full pages in *Vogue*. But as journalist and writer John Gunther asserted, she was not the one deciding to appear on "cold-cream testimonials, the fountain pen advertisements, the endorsements of jewelry and of beauty shops." Instead, her likeness was replicated by "unscrupulous secretaries." Gunther also mentioned a case when the naïve Queen offered an unknown "newspaper woman" her diary, and "diplomatic forces of two continents had to move heaven and earth to keep it from publication."[37] Indeed, Gunther described the Queen as a "cardinal paradox in the whole Rumanian story," whose "naïveté was beyond belief," trusting "everybody," who in turn betrayed her, yet her judgment remained "whole and acute; she was impulsive, tremendously ambitious, and a superb egotist." Queen Marie's crafted persona by proxy made her the perfect public figure in modern societies on both sides of the Atlantic. She was a cultural and fashion icon who "knew what she was doing and cared not a hang for consequences."[38] Gunther's observations were not as visible to average US press readers who viewed the Queen as the ultimate superstar who descended from her ivory European tower to visit and speak to the American people (Fig. 1).

Fashion encompasses creation, manufacture, commerce, and dissemination. Advertisements for textile stores emphasized low prices instead of exclusivity or high quality. The department store chain *Au Bon Goût,* located on Lipscani Street in Bucharest and with branches in Chernivtsi, Timișoara, and Craiova, even claimed there were no lower prices elsewhere in Romania. In April 1921, it published a large ad in *Adevărul* with a list of exclusive offers for its "Holy Easter Exhibition."[39] Fashionable Bucharesters could buy a meter of *crêpe de chine* in "modern colors" for 130 lei, cristalline "for Dresses and Blouses" for 79,90 lei, washable silk for "BLOUSES and lingerie" for 120 lei, *satin oriental* in "assorted colors" for 185 lei, Valencian or Torchons

37 John Gunther, *Not to Be Repeated: Merry-Go-Round of Europe* (R. Long & R. R. Smith, 1932), 423.
38 Ibid, 422.
39 "Au Bon Goût Ad," *Adevărul*, April 26, 1921, 2.

laces between 3.50 and 6.50 lei.[40] Among finite products, it listed women's white or black *glaçê* gloves starting from 50 lei and thread gloves "in assorted colors" starting from 30 lei.[41] The only cosmetic product advertised was for Jean Marie Farina *eau de cologne*, sold at 20 lei for 250 milliliters, 37.50 lei for half a liter, and 70 lei for a liter.[42] By summer, *Au Bon Goût* returned to its standard prices, as advertised again in *Adevărul*. The "latest novelties" of the season included fabrics sold by the meter, *Marocain* for 295 lei and *crêpe Mayunga* for 225 lei, both used in "summer dresses, modern colors," the exclusive *crêpe romain* in all shades for ninety-six lei, *crêpe Tchina, Pêkinê* for 240 lei, washable cristalline now priced at 125 lei and *crêpe de chine* at 259 lei[43]. White and *gris perle Glaçê* gloves were sold at 50 lei, and women's thread gloves for thirty-five lei[44]. Clients could purchase a lingerie package containing chemises for day and night, *marquisette* trousers, and three pieces of *a jour* handmade embroidery for 875 lei[45]. Below the store's detailed list, an elegant woman putting on powder was pictured in an illustrated box for *Parfumerie Germandrée,* producing perfumes, creams, *eaux de cologne,* and powders.[46] Conversely, one meter of *crêpe de chine* could buy almost thirty-three loaves of bread and thirteen tons of coal around Christmas in 1922, or nearly forty-seven kilograms of bread and seven tons of coal in the summer of 1923.[47]

The State's taxation policies heavily affected the textile industry's condition in Romania. Taxes in the 1920s were engaged in a steep increase,

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40 Around $1.5, $26 in 2023 for crêpe de chine, $0.9, $1, 6 in 2023 for cristalline, $1.4, $24 in 2023 for silk, $2.1, $36 in 2023 for satin oriental, and from $0.04, $0.7 in 2023 to $0.06, $1 in 2023 for laces.

41 Around $0.6, $10 in 2023 for glaçê gloves and $0.3, $5 in 2023 for thread gloves.

42 Around $0.2, $3 in 2023 for 250 ml, $0.4, $7 in 2023 for 500 ml and $0.8, $14 in 2023 for 1l.

43 Around $3, 32, $57 in 2023 for Marocain, $2.53, $43 in 2023 for crêpe Mayunga, $1.08, $18 in 2023 for crêpe romain, $2.7, $46 in 2023 for crêpe Tchina, $1.41, $24 in 2023 for washable cristalline, $2.91, $50 in 2023 for crêpe de chine.

44 $0.56 and $0.39, $10, and $7 in 2023.

45 $9.84, $168 in 2023.

46 "Au Bon Goût Ad," *Adevărul*, June 5, 1922, 2.

47 Bucharest Mayor's Office, *Anuarul statistic al orașului București pe anii 1915–1923* (Bucharest: Tipografia Curții Regale Göbl, 1924), 162–72.

only to reach their peak in the next decade.[48] Romanian merchants were forced to trust foreign intermediaries were honest and hoped for the best transport conditions and minimal damages for the merchandise. Legal action was often the only solution to compensate for such losses, at least on paper. Such lawsuits abounded throughout the interwar era on foul play and goods mishandling. For instance, in 1920, Bucharest merchants Henry and Netty Maurer filed a lawsuit against Alfred Hacco from Paris. Several of the Defendant's perfumed oil cans broke, destroying the high-fashion dresses the Maurers imported from Paris. The court assessed the damage to 26,950 francs.[49] A decade later, the Cornea Bank on Calea Victoriei filed a lawsuit against a Parisian debtor, George Lebel, who failed to present the agreed-upon merchandise by the July 1929 deadline. Damages included 1,453 meters of printed *crêpe de chine*, forty-nine meters of printed *crêpe satin*, and fifty-six meters of plain *crêpe de chine*. The court ordered Lebel to pay 359,781 lei[50] plus a 24% yearly tax and legal costs.[51]

Despite material difficulties and unpredictable outcomes, Romanian merchants still imported raw fabrics, including natural silk as *crêpe de chine*, patterns, and ready-made products, mainly from France. For instance, in 1923, advertisements for *Léon & Adolphe,* claiming to be the only Parisian couturiers in Bucharest, could be seen in most high-life publications, like the *Almanach du High-Life*.[52] The same almanac of chic Bucharest included a five-page article on recent fashions and advice for the coming months. The article was built on the hypothesis that as ephemeral as fashion could be, women would always be interested in it and wish to keep abreast with the

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[48] Victor Axenciuc, *Monedă-Credit-Comerț-Finanțe Publice* (Bucharest: Romanian Academy Press, 2000), 593–4.

[49] Around $1, 895, $28, 909 in 2023. Romanian Parliament, "Anunțuri judiciare," *Monitorul Oficial al Regatului României Addendum*, no. 13 (April 21, 1920): (913–15) 914.

[50] Around $2, 149, $ 39, 262 in 2023.

[51] Romanian Parliament, *Monitorul Oficial al Regatului României* III, no. 91 (April 26, 1930), 5856.

[52] *Tout-Bucarest. Almanach du High-Life* (Bucharest: Société par "L'Indépendance Roumaine," 1923), 30–44.

newest changes and ideas.[53] The author signing as M.R.[54] further indicated influential Parisian fashion creators, with some liberties in the spelling, turning Lanvin into *Lauvin* and Chanel into *Channel*. Indeed, women's post-war emancipation served political and visual purposes. Women's fashionable image was directly proportional to desirability. More recent theorists have argued that women more commonly dress for each other.[55] The main driving forces are the desire for competition and to irritate rivals.[56] From a social and cultural historical lens, women's fashion was an essential cog in any modern society machine. However frivolous fashion may have seemed to interwar Romanian lawmakers, the textile industry was considered a priority for Romania's economic and industrial development in the mid-1920s.[57] Regardless of the textile industry's perceived importance, the prevailing opinion veered towards criticizing women for their fashion propensity and desire for emancipation and even to become equals to men.

Back to 1923, the *Almanach du High-Life* accommodated an article on Bucharest's worldly life, signed by Le Sphinx, drawing attention to the increasing number of divorces in Romania's capital, approaching the rate in Paris. For the author, allowing women to occupy public spaces freely was a double-edged sword.[58] The same alarm could be heard more than a decade later, in 1937, this time in the monthly *Magazinul (The Magazine)*,[59] which may suggest that the issue of divorce, particularly within the context

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53 M.R., "La mode," *Tout Bucarest* (See Note 46), (65–70) 65.

54 According to Mihail Straje's dictionary of pseudonyms, the only Romanian personality known to use "M.R." was sociologist Mihai Ralea: Straje, *Dicționar de pseudonime*, 406.

55 Pamela Church Gibson, "Redressing the Balance: Patriarchy, Postmodernism and Feminism," in *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, eds. S. Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), (349–62) 350.

56 Carolyn Beckingham, *Is Fashion a Woman's Right?* (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 108.

57 C.G. Rommenhoeller, *La Grande-Roumanie. Sa Structure Économique, Sociale, Financière, Politique et Particulièrement Ses Richesses* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926), 300.

58 Le Sphinx, "Mondains, mondaines, mondanitées," in *Tout Bucarest* (See Note 46), (58–61) 58–59.

59 E., "Alarmă. Cea mai importantă problemă socială: Descrește populația în statele civilizate," *Magazinul*, December 1937, 47–56.

of women's emancipation, was still unsolved and an ideal tool for fear-mongering propaganda. Le Sphinx believed that women's lack of sincerity in relations could extend to their public practices, especially professional ones. Le Sphinx was appalled by this generation of modern girls who aspired beyond the domestic sphere, proving that they know more than men.[60] The fashionable 1920s silhouette was not spared either. For Le Sphinx, it represented the "voluptuousness of the bones," an abomination of established ideals and parameters of female beauty.[61] It is then safe to argue that the prevalent anti-feminist rhetoric in interwar Romania began a powerful push for women to be pacified since the age of the modern girl. However, as seen in the unchanging alarmist 'news' about divorce rates, not even their evolution into new women could fully satisfy the (male) detractors of women's emancipation. Before the Great Depression dented the modern girl's advance, the 1920s could be seen as a gestation period for increasingly extremist right-wing ideas. These ideologies would define women's role in the coming decade as the new woman.

Despite the unprecedented strides in women's emancipation, 1924 came with the reediting of Zoé Charlotte de Gamond's 1836 book *De la condition sociale des femmes au dix-neuvième siècle*. It was first translated into Romanian in 1854 by Teodor N. Balș, described in 1924 as "Hetman and Knight of several orders Etc. Etc. Etc," printed in Iași at the Romanian-French Press. The 1920s edition was published in Bucharest under the aegis of *Revista Ideii (Idea's Review)*, led by Marxist anarchist and ideologist Panait Mușoiu.[62] In the 1924 book's introduction, Mușoiu admitted de Gamond's text was unpalatable to "modern" tastes. Still, her book's traditionalism was "respectable" and "healthy," which he believed was "far from hindering the path of progress, it facilitates it, it actually implies progress."[63] Yet the

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[60] Le Sphinx, "Mondains," 58–60.

[61] Ibid, 61.

[62] Zoé Charlotte de Gamond, *Despre datoria femelior*, ed. Panait Mușoiu, trans. Teodor N. Balș (Bucharest: Biblioteca "Revista Ideii," 1924), front cover.

[63] Ibid, 5.

updates Mușoiu announced were mainly linguistic, implying that early-nineteenth-century ideas about women's roles and duties would still apply to the age of the modern girl. On the other side of the gender literature spectrum, writer and feminist Adela Xenopol founded the Society of Romanian Women Writers in 1925 as a response to the Society of Romanian Writers, aiming to support and promote women's literary efforts.[64] Fashion could become a subject even in Avant Garde publications. In October 1925, the modernist monthly *Integral* included a French-language article by French Surrealist writer René Crevel recounting his visit to Simultaneist artist and designer Sonia Delaunay.[65] While it may seem an essential stride in acknowledging women's interests, at least in a more radical segment of the Romanian press, the same issue contained a two-page Romanian-language interview with Robert Delaunay, titled *Simultaneism in Art*, which failed to even mention the vital contribution of his partner, Sonia Delaunay, as an artist and designer.[66] This lack of attention was not accidental. The Romanian Avant-Garde artistic press rarely mentioned Sonia Delaunay in conjunction with her artistic accomplishments and innovations alongside her husband.[67]

Meanwhile in America, the daily *San Antonio Light* published a series of articles it claimed had been authored by Queen Marie, especially for its readers.[68] Throughout 1925, the American press enthusiastically reported on Parisian-Romanian revue actress Alice Cocéa's marriage with Count Stanislas de La Rochefoucauld (Fig. 2). On page one of *Evening Star*'s Sunday morning edition, among news about a failed assassination attempt on Mussolini,

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[64] Bianca Burța-Cernat, *Fotografie de grup cu scriitoare uitate: proza feminină interbelică* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 2011), 25.

[65] René Crevel, "La mode moderne. Visite à Sonia Delaunay," *Integral* – Revistă de sinteză modernă, October 1925, 18–19.

[66] Ilarie Voronca, "Simultaneismul în artă. De vorbă cu Robert Delaunay," *Integral* – Revistă de sinteză modernă, October 1925, 2–3.

[67] Amelia Miholca, *Beyond Tzara: Dada, Constructivism, and Cubism in the Romanian Avant-Garde Magazines* (PhD Thesis, Tempe AZ, Arizona State University, 2021), Accessed May 27, 2022, https://keep.lib.asu.edu/items/161627.

[68] "A Queen Talks to American Women!" *San Antonio Light*, October 13, 1925, 18; "Europe's Most Famous Queen to Contribute to Light Readers," *San Antonio Light*, October 18, 1925, 1.

the USA's economic policies and postwar debt, or harsh commentary on Sultan al-Atrash's rebellion in Syria, Washington D.C. residents could read that a "young count" married Cocéa, defying his family. According to the anonymous report issued by the *Associated Press*, what made Cocéa anathema to the Count's family was not only her career as a comedy actress. They also rejected her family and ethnic identity, "being a Rumanian and having a brother who is a socialist deputy for Bessarabia."[69] As reported in the Texan *Brownsville Herald*, at the time, the Count's family even sought assistance from the Pope to forbid the marriage.[70] The same newspaper announced two weeks later that the Count's father cut him off from his allowance after his marriage to Cocéa (Fig. 3).[71] By January 1926, Arizonians who read the *Douglas Daily Dispatch*'s sports page also discovered that the wedding took place despite all the resistance.[72] On the same day but in Washington D.C., the *Evening Star* also reported on the wedding, with the news again attributed to the Associated Press.[73] Douglas residents were also informed in late March that Cocéa had resumed her acting career under her maiden name.[74] While interest ebbed by late 1926, Romanians still made headlines. In November, *The Indianapolis Times* included another tabloid-style article with Queen Marie as the central character. The newsworthy event was triggered by the Queen slipping while attending Mass and her attitude afterward, retaining her poise.[75] 1926 was also when prominent interwar Romanian eugenicist Aurel Voina left for the United States of America as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow. His Fellowship Card included information from 1927,

[69] Associated Press, "Young Count Defies Family to Wed Star of "Phi-Phi,'' Socialist's Sister," *Evening Star*, November 5, 1925, 1.

[70] "Ban Sought," *Brownsville Herald*, November 15, 1925, 3.

[71] "Seeks Job to Wed Actress," *Brownsville Herald*, November 29, 1925, 5.

[72] "French Count Weds His Music Hall Sweetheart," *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, January 3, 1926, 8.

[73] Associated Press, "Comedy Star Weds Aristocratic Count. De La Rochefoucauld Marries Actress in Paris after Much Opposition," *Evening Star*, January 3, 1926, 4.

[74] "Countess Spurns Title on Her Return to Musical Comedy Is Billed Under Her Maiden Name," *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, March 21, 1926, 13.

[75] "Queen Slips but Retains Her Poise. Heel Catches in Rug at *Roumanian* Church and She Falls to Knees," *The Indianapolis Times*, November 18, 1926, 2.

when he began his educational route under the support of the Foundation, as a "special student" in the administration and demonstration of public health, venereal disease control, eugenics, and statistics.[76] The subsequent resulting 1930 volume on prostitution and venereal diseases, informed by his American studies and research,[77] marked the beginning of a prolific career as an author, researcher, ideologue, and politician easily known by the new woman but less so by the new (Communist) woman. While Voina was later instrumental in regulating beauty salons and cosmetic institutes, the practice was already a staple of mid-1920s women's social lives (Fig. 4).

By January 1928, Count Stanislas de la Rochefoucauld reemerged in the US press in an article attributed to United Press reporting from Paris regarding his views as a "loyal defender" of American women. "Count Stanislas" was presented as renowned for his family background and for being "the husband of one of France's most attractive actresses, Alice Cocea." According to de la Rochefoucauld, since the last years of the nineteenth century, American women who married "into old French families" deeply impacted Parisian physiognomy and shifted "its pleasures from indoor to outdoor sports." This is congruent with Anne Hollander's later observation that women rarely engaged in active or sportive pursuits before the twentieth century, particularly related to leg movement. She asserted that the interwar era abandoned the strict, constricted ideas of fashion and conduct, especially for women, favoring practicality as a form of emancipation by turning formerly perceived impropriety into high fashion.[78] In the Count's view, his contemporary American-turned-French women who "really run the society of present day Paris" changed the general social preference from "overcrowded gilded ballrooms" to "cabarets and centers of night life." As the United Press noted, his assessment was "a criticism of society which turns out to

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[76] The Rockefeller Foundation, "Voina, Dr. Aurel," *IHD, Rockefeller Foundation Records* (Paris: Rockefeller Archive Center, 1927).

[77] Aurel Voina, *Prostituția și boalele venerice in Romania* (Bucharest: Göbl and Sons Royal Court Publishing House, 1930).

[78] Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes*, 339–40.

be a glorification of American women." In the Count's view, the demimondaine was almost extinct, now replaced by the American *emigrées* or the Americanized Parisienne who becomes "her own best press agent." 1928 Paris harbored nightlife, "mad dashes from one cabaret to another," and "the rhythm of music." American women, as "pals of speed," while their snobbery and self-centeredness made up for "any lack of intellectual gifts."[79] But de la Rochefoucauld's views did not entirely reflect Parisian reality. Considering his hypothesis about the disappearance of the demimondaine, it would be safe to imply that it was more a process of evolution rather than extinction. Parisian socialites changed with the times and adapted to the postwar world. Marthe Bibesco would observe in a 1932 American *Vogue* article that dress had become democratic since fabrics and models previously anathema to the wealthy elites became acceptable for Princesses and noble ladies owing to the fashion revolution spearheaded by Coco Chanel.[80]

Moreover, feminist-type messaging also turned out to be profitable. Throughout the 1930s and roughly until the mid-1935, when censorship on moral grounds decidedly shifted Hollywood's direction, studios and cinemas worldwide "were only too glad to sell women liberation and modernity for the price of a movie ticket."[81] From a fashion studies perspective, Bibesco's assertion would appear in more recent theoretical writings chiefly on street fashion, which, to a certain extent, has engaged in a democratizing process connecting individuals, collectives, or cultures.[82] And Bibesco's early-1930s observations would not be lost on any elegance connoisseur in 1928. The late 1920s were cementing the practice of women's *flânerie*, blending fashion and identity to create modern girls and then new women. The result was new,

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79 United Press, "Count Defends U. S. Women. 'Pals of Speed,' Description of American Wives," *The Indianapolis Times*, January 26, 1928, 8.

80 Marthe Bibesco, "Democracy in Dress," *Vogue*, March 1, 1932, 76, 96, 98.

81 Moore, *Anything Goes*, 86.

82 Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body. Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge and Maiden: Polity Press, 2000), 208.

fluid, and more subtle exclusivity that could still set fashion icons apart from women donning *prêt-à-porter models*.

In February 1928, the same American edition of *Vogue* published an article by Bibesco titled *The Lure of the Other Woman's Gown*, centered around a certain Odette, one "of those odd women" desiring someone else's dress. Bibesco recounted a recent visit she paid Odette wearing a "not particularly remarkable" black mousseline dinner dress. Odette was immediately enthralled. The Princess tried to no avail "to disgust her with the garment," claiming it was an old, common model, likely already present in Odette's wardrobe. A proper dinner dress was exactly the one item Odette had forgotten to account for in her overflowing travel wardrobe. And then the inevitable, dreaded question came, whether Bibesco would allow Odette to copy her dress, despite knowing already "from experience" that she *did* mind. Odette was unmoved by her friend's "revolt against her tactlessness" with a "disapproving shudder." But in the end, Bibesco knew she would yield and send Odette her dress the next day, foreseeing her friend's ultimate disappointment. As Bibesco explained, no matter how many new dresses she copies from her friends and acquaintances, she could never become another person by simply stealing dress patterns. Bibesco was sure that Odette saw herself as her double, claiming she "evidently fears for me, whom she copies, what she does not fear for herself, the annoyance of being another person's reflection." In Bibesco's understanding, Odette never understood why the Princess blushed when meeting her "for lacking that delicacy that forbids bringing the original and the copy together in the same place." Odette abhorred the same dress at a couturiere unless worn by one of her friends. In Bibesco's opinion, Odette had no taste as "her mania is altogether guileless." Odette's extensive wardrobe disgusted Bibesco. Odette's dresses did not reflect "the true air," but that of the false, that of a copy. Her unchanging habit prevents her from learning "for herself, how to dress." Indeed, what Bibesco termed "the science of good taste in dress" needs painstaking work. Otherwise, it is lost. And, Bibesco concluded, constantly tried to drag her friends into this practice "like every

one who falls into her weakness […] by way of excuse." When asked if she wanted any of Odette's dresses, the Princess promptly answered, quoting Alfred de Vigny, that she liked "only what I need never see twice."[83]

Sometime in the mid-to-late 1920s, writer C.L. Flavian visited the United States. Among his impressions, published as a book in 1932, he detailed a Hollywood visit, where he was allowed to watch how an aviation scene with actor Conrad Nagel was filmed in an unnamed studio. As Flavian noted, the public would probably believe Nagel was genuinely flying when watching the movie in "Bucharest, Paris or Angorra [Sic]" five or six months later. Movie stars' fashion choices and projected personalities were treated similarly, justifying the sometimes-exaggerated effort to separate the actual person from the artist. Flavian experienced this reluctance firsthand. After visiting Hollywood, he concluded that meeting the Pope in an intimate or personal environment at the Vatican was much easier than catching a glimpse of Greta Garbo. Still, he was allowed to visit the dressing rooms of certain movie stars, Garbo included, but only in their absence.[84]

Literary and art critic Petru Comarnescu published his American impression volume titled *Homo americanus*[85] a year later at the Vremea publishing house within the Criterion collection, of which he was a founding member. Like Flavian's book mentioned above, Comarnescu's frame of reference suggests 1920s realities. Comarnescu's comments are more relevant to the modern girl than the new woman, mainly as the book includes a chapter dedicated specifically to what he termed the "modern girl." Comarnescu used the terms "modern girl" and "modern woman," most likely as an umbrella term for the generalized idea of "modern girl" applied to women throughout the interwar era[86] and may include aspects of the modern girl and new woman symbols as defined in this paper.

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83 Marthe Bibesco, "The Lure of the Other Woman's Gown," *Vogue*, February 1, 1928, 69.

84 C.L. Flavian, *Impresii Din America* (Bucharest: Vremea, 1932), 34–35.

85 Petru Comarnescu, *Homo Americanus* (Bucharest: Vremea, 1933).

86 See Alys Eve Weinbaum et al., eds., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Comarnescu described "modern women" as "club women" or "the Americans," in its essence a variation of the American modern man avatar."[87] He considered the "modern woman" model as divorced from the Romanian and Oriental ideals. She was no longer a mother or nanny and lacked the desire to equal men intellectually. She dedicated her freedom to activities "within the broad framework of nation and humanity" and "effectively controls her homeland's destiny."[88] The author envisioned the possibility of instituting a matriarchal system in the United States, considering the numerous decisive victories in women's emancipation. In his view, women exercised their power by joining clubs with general and specific purposes.[89]

When painting the portrait of the "modern girl," Comarnescu used the example of Helen Thomas, an independent-minded student who attempted to convince him of the importance money played for American women. Thomas claimed that beauty was irrelevant if not accompanied by brilliance of mind and heart. Comarnescu expressed his disdain towards American women's material preoccupation by using another illustration, Miss Carr, who reluctantly agreed to meet him after a string of vehement refusals. While already rich, Miss Carr supported applied arts, interior design, and advertising illustration specifically in search of profit. When Thomas heard his objection, she called Comarnescu a "European snob" who refused to accept anything that did not fit into his value system.[90] He believed Americans to be more physically and emotionally robust, although young women seemed less "ruled by Puritanism" than young men. The "configuration" of this American "new girl" resulted from the fact that interracial individuals were prone to "earlier development and maturation."[91] Flavian drew similar conclusions about American gendered realities. He believed the term "romance" in an American context had lost its initial "idyll, love, ideal" tone in favor of "flirt, romance

[87] Dorian Branea, *Statele Unite ale Românilor: Cărțile călătoriilor românești în America în secolul XX* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2017), 113.
[88] Comarnescu, *Homo Americanus*, 50.
[89] Ibid, 51–52.
[90] Ibid, 148–50.
[91] Ibid, 154.

and sex=appeal [Sic]," as women were more open to "escaping from the country of prohibited liberties."[92] However, as libertine as the "multiracial" American young woman may seem, Flavian asserted that her existence was centered around respectability, with deep roots in her Puritan descendance.[93] Filtering the "modern American girl" through a "fundamentally Romanian interpretation"[94] for Comarnescu or, to a lesser extent, the American woman type, as depicted by Flavian, inherently differ from modern girls and new women in Romania. Despite more relaxed gendered segregation for the latter regarding education, profession, and socializing, they were still confined within strict limits of morality and acquiescence to social, political, and ecclesiastical authorities, from traditionalists to right-wing extremists.

1929 – A Bridge to the New Woman

The modern girl did not disappear immediately after the Great Depression. Rhythms of tango and jazz, alongside Hollywood and Parisian fashion icons, continued to spark women's imagination worldwide. However, as Moore asserted, "most women of Zelda's generation" viewed the flapper identity as "a stage, rather than a Faustian pact."[95] Therefore, the flapper/*garçonne* in Bucharest was at least unconsciously aware she would eventually grow out of this "rebellious phase." The modern girl parading on Bucharest's Calea Victoriei still hoped to become a movie star as she nonchalantly paraded between shops at noon, cinemas in the evening, or clubs at night. However, the discourse against her physical and behavioral traits gained traction as the decade approached its end.

An article on winter season fashions published in the illustrated weekly *Realitatea Ilustrată (The Illustrated Reality)* announced the fashionable woman's

[92] Flavian, *Impresii*, 93–94.
[93] Ibid, 95.
[94] Branea, *Statele Unite ale Românilor*, 100.
[95] Moore, *Anything Goes*, 78.

metamorphosis into a "genuine lady" in October 1929.[96] The changes were already visible in high fashion creations (Fig. 5), including the emphasis on natural lines and an elongated, curvy aesthetic achieved through cuts, as perfected by Madeleine Vionnet. Synthetic and elastic threads and fabrics like Lastex were already present, especially in lingerie designs offering neat silhouette lines. The hem's progressive elongation continued until the mid-1930s.[97] Assunta's article indeed announced a radical change. Longer skirts would need an increasing amount of material. The waist had also significantly risen above the tighter hips. As Assunta contended, this fresh style emphasized an equally novel type of femininity. However, women's pressure to attain this silhouette could also pose obstacles to movement. Overall, there was a tendency to return to impressionist folds reminiscent of Renoir or Manet, using everything fashion had gained in the past decades and hence only accessible to affluent women. Assunta concluded by advising readers to avoid anything that appeared cheap or easy to copy. For this reason, the author identified the rare sights of fur coats in Paris or Berlin because social and economic elite women abhorred the idea of even looking like those wearing imitations.[98]

Aside from active feminists, the eugenicists' most feared enemies listed as "disgenic factors" were women who were "middle class, educated and with feminist tendencies."[99] This generalized category could include most fashion-consuming mid-interwar Romanian modern girls, soon to become new women. Nevertheless, texts addressed to women, especially those that qualify as advice literature, treat women's emancipation in an increasingly ambiguous manner, especially in conjunction with subjects dealing with representation or national pride. Not entirely discarding the modern girl's rebellious, assertive nature, the new woman was to become a "female hero"

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[96] Assunta, "Moda iarna," *Realitatea Ilustrată*, October 26, 1929, 31.

[97] Webber, "The Modern Era," 91.

[98] Assunta, "Moda iarna," 91.

[99] Maria Bucur, "Mișcarea eugenista și rolurile de gen," in *Patriarhat și emancipare în istoria gândirii politice românești*, eds. Maria Bucur and Mihaela Miroiu (Iași: Polirom, 2002), (107–47) 116.

and an elegant *flâneuse* emanating modernity and dissimulated prosperity on the grand tourist-friendly boulevards like Calea Victoriei, Bucharest's main artery. Physical, aesthetic, and national selection were applied on a vast spectrum, from winners of internationally-affiliated *Miss* beauty pageants presented as ambassadors of Romanian beauty to professional or scientific achievements and records achieved by women despite direct opposition from both decision factors and colleagues or Rockefeller fellows offered the occasion to pursue advanced studies at prominent institutions in Europe and especially the USA. The mention of beauty pageants above is not accidental. As Eric Hobsbawm asserted, beauty queens operated like athletes in representing the idealized, imagined nation,[100] adding a calculated flavor of personal charm. From their very inception, beauty pageants were intricately linked to eugenic and social selection ideas. As modern versions of debutante balls, interwar *Miss* pageants can be interpreted through a eugenic lens as presenting a row of young, unmarried women that decreased after each stage of selection on physical aspect, intelligence, and morality until the candidate who best embodied the organizers' and jury's ideals was crowned as the winner.[101] Lizica Codreanu, the sister of sculptor Irina Codreanu,[102] represented a more complex example encompassing fashion, art, health, and an orientation toward Indian spiritual practices. She began her career as a modernist dancer, connected to Constantin Brâncuși and Sonia Delaunay[103] in the 1920s as a modern girl. She was then among France's first hatha yoga instructors, beginning in the 1930s, as a new woman.

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[100] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 143.

[101] See Andraș, "Beauty and Nation: Miss Romania as International Ambassador," in *Studies on Literature, Discourse and Multicultural Dialogue*, ed. Iulian Boldea, vol. 1 (Târgu-Mureș: Arhipelag XXI Press, 2013), 424–31.

[102] Doina Lemny, *Lizica Codreanu, o dansatoare română în avangardă* pariziană (Bucharest: Vellant, 2012).

[103] See Andraș, "Fashioning Simultaneous Migrations: Sonia Delaunay and Inter-War Romanian Connections," *Critical Studies in Fashion & Beauty* 13, no. 2 (December 1, 2022): 229–53, https://doi.org/10.1386/csfb_00047_1.

Despite ideological and financial difficulties, Bucharest advertising spaces continued to be studded with references to "fashion houses" selling "the latest Parisian models." *Realitatea Ilustrată* had the budget and national spread to offer agreeable deals to companies and manufacturers. Its advertisements running throughout 1929 for the *I Schőenfeld* hat salons were edited as a multi-faceted article. It not only described the offer and significant demand for the hats and the fact that it reproduced the models from the latest Parisian fashion journals, but it was also the best way to overcome the monetary crisis while also connecting it to the *Miss Romania* contest organized by *Realitatea Ilustrată*. According to the ad, the era belonged both to the Great Depression and to beauty pageants. True beauty should be sought. For this, women should stop consuming cosmetic products and instead choose the 'magnificent' *Schőenfeld* hats. Because of this, the ad continues, it can be explained why there is a so-called 'acute pilgrimage' to these salons. Every day, the salons added new clients worthy of sharing tastes with the magazine's Miss Romania 1929, Magda Demetrescu (Fig. 6).

Meanwhile, the Romanian Tailoring Academy offered remote specialized womenswear creation courses created and accredited by the Academy's then-President, D. Theodorescu. Interested individuals could also pay an annual fee of two hundred lei[104] for a monthly subscription to the technical and professional *Croitorie și artă (Tailoring and Art)*.[105] The Academy extended its publishing endeavors in the next decade, including twelve specialized guides starting in 1932. They covered various aspects of tailoring and couture, with an added pocket guide summarizing all eleven volumes. Thus began an era when women were encouraged to choose fitting and elegant garments and accessories and *create* them themselves. As 1929 progressed into the 1930s, the idea of austerity gained traction in fashion in an avant-la-lettre version of what would be understood as the DIY (Do It Yourself) phenomenon. The Academy's guides came to complete genuine beauty manuals authored by

[104] Around $1.2 in 1929, $21 in 2023.

[105] D. Theodorescu, Ad for *Croitorie și artă (Tailoring and Art)*, 1929.

self-proclaimed specialists coming from medical, even eugenic fields. For example, two volumes published almost at the end of the interwar era, in 1938, were added to the new woman's arsenal, even after her post-1948 reinvention. One was Aurel Voina's *Îngrijirea tenului (Skincare)*,[106] within a series of books on cosmetics. It associated beauty with eugenics, a connection that would disappear when the collection was reedited as a single book in 1959.[107] On the other hand, R. Vior's premium edition of *Fii frumoasă doamnă (Be Beautiful Madam)*[108] covered fashion and cosmetic instructions matching some of Voina's technical ideas but leaving out eugenic references.

Conclusion

The 1920s brought about an unprecedented shift during modernity in women's behavior and political agency, which was most visible through the silhouette of the *garçonne* or flapper. In Romania, the modern girl embodying French and Anglo-Saxon influences was the precursor and trailblazer of following feminine models, namely the interwar and Communist new women. Modern girls were born out of postwar trauma with an aggressive need for emancipation and recognition, undressing nineteenth-century norms of propriety and social constructions. While the new woman's prerogative would have been to redress the gendered balance, the modern girl's disruption severely shook the patriarchal status quo and could never be reversed. In her identity construction, the Romanian modern girl blended notions of the elegant *Parisienne* with the growing popularity of the Hollywood diva, adding national and local flavors. In jazz rhythms, with newly-gained freedom of movement and amid cigarette smoke, the modern girl paraded confidently throughout the 1920s until the Great Depression. But her soul and desires would continue in the twentieth century's diverse palettes and rhythms.

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106 Voina, *Îngrijirea tenului* (Bucharest: Cugetarea – Georgescu Delafras, 1938).

107 Idem, *Îngrijirea tenului și a părului* (Bucharest: Medicală, 1959).

108 R. Vior, *Fii frumoasă doamnă* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1938).

Illustrations



THE SPOKANE WOMAN

Illustrated Tabloid Weekly Newspaper for Inland Empire Women

Volume V., No. 19 SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 28, 1926 Price Ten Cents

Paine Mrs. E. 5 Eighth

MARIE—Queen of Roumania

IN THIS ISSUE

THE A. A. U. W. REST CAMP

IS YOUR STATIONERY CORRECT?

THEATRE REVIEWS

BEGINNING NEXT WEEK Parliamentary Law Talks By KATHERINE A. KEITH

Fig. 1. Queen Marie on the cover of *The Spokane Woman* [109]

[109] Front cover, *The Spokane Woman*, October 28, 1926.



Fig. 2. Alice Cocéa and Count de Stanislas de la Rochefoucauld, press photograph (Agence Rol). Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France


SEEKS JOB TO WED ACTRESS

Count Stanislas de la Rochefoucald and Mlle. Alice Cocea

Fig. 3. 1925 *Brownsville Herald* article on Cocéa's wedding [110]

[110] "Seeks Job to Wed Actress."



Fig. 4. Women in a Romanian beauty salon, 1926. Personal Collection

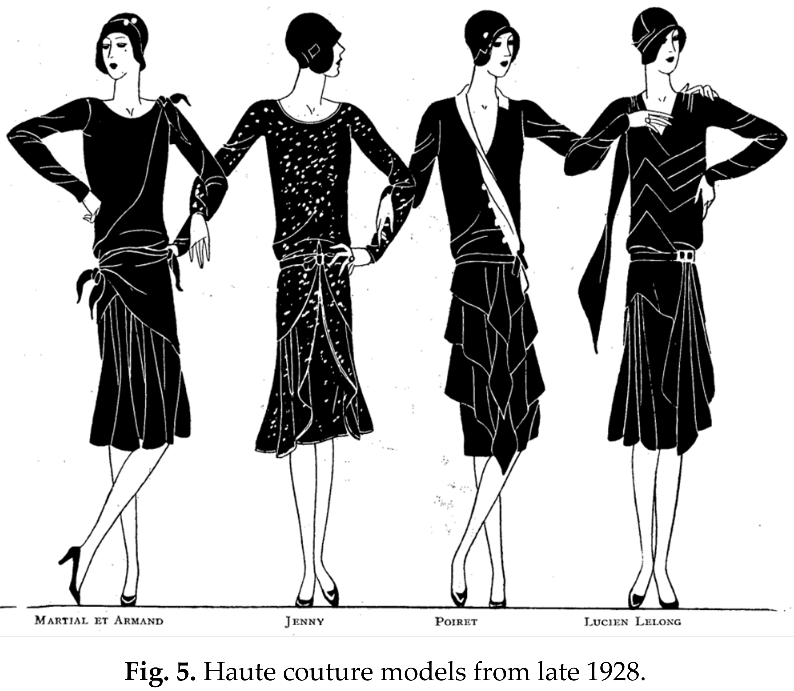


Fig. 5. Haute couture models from late 1928.
Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France [111]

[111] Celine, "La mode et les grands couturiers," *La femme de France*, October 21, 1928, 12.

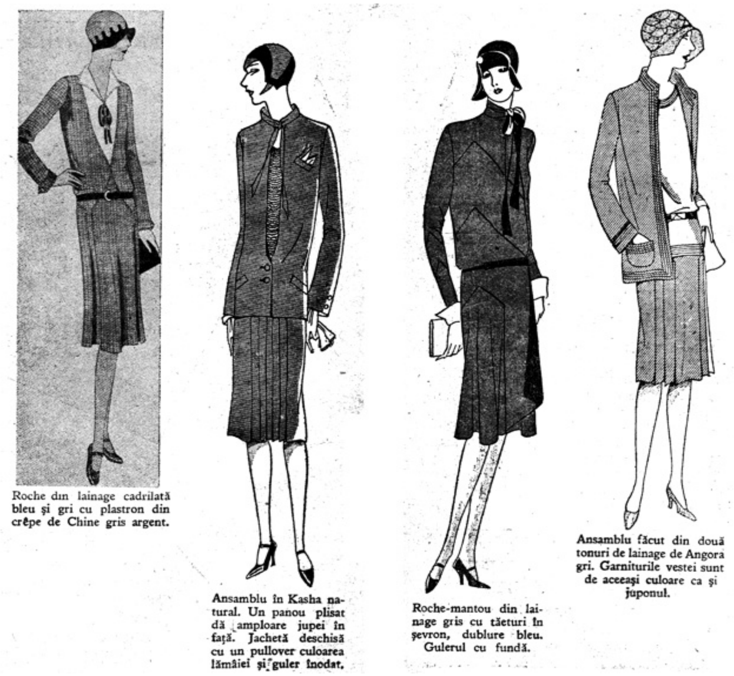


Fig. 6. From left to right: Checkered blue ang grey *leinage* skirt with a *gris argent crêpe de chine* plastron. Natural *Kasha* ensemble. A pleated panel gives amplitude to the skirt in front; open jacket with a lemon-color pullover and knotted collar. Skirt-mantle in grey *leinage* with chevron cuts, blue doubling; collar with a ribbon. Ensemble created from two *leinage* tones in grey Angorra; the vest's garnishes have the same color as the skirt [112]



Fig. 6. *Realitatea Ilustrată* – Miss Romania, Magda Demetrescu, 1929. Personal Collection

[112] Monique, "Moda," *Domnița*, February 8, 1929, 8–9.

Transatlantic Aesthetics: Exploring American and Romanian Artistic Interactions in the Avant-Garde

Alexandru Bar

Introduction

This essay explores the dynamics of American-Romanian relations during the interwar period to understand if the evolution of diplomatic and commercial ties translated into a significant exchange between artists on both sides, active within avant-garde and modernist circles. The interwar period, spanning from the end of World War One in 1918 to the onset of the Second World War in 1939, witnessed a complex web of international relations and diplomatic maneuvering. Among the numerous bilateral relationships that developed during this time, the interactions between the United States and Romania produced a series of artistic and architectural encounters. These interactions were shaped by a variety of factors, including geopolitical considerations, economic interests, and shared values. I would like to show how productive such encounters proved to be for Romanian culture and what a fertile exchange they constituted for their concept of art. The formal importance of uncovering those specific artists, visual and literary elements, if any, integrated into the Romanian and/or American artistic circles or, at the very least, aware of each other's activities, will enhance the ongoing pursuit of the Romanian avant-garde to establish itself as a substantial component of this global movement of ideas that was the avant-garde.[1] Throughout this essay, a distinction is made

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[1] Romanian artists remained in contact across borders and language differences, as shown by many avant-gardists' magazines: *Contimporanul*, *Integral*, *75 H.P.*, *Punct* – all dedicated the last pages of each number to permanent columns in which accounts were given of similar publications from all over Europe that promoted the same innovative approach.

between the concepts of "avant-garde" and "modernism," emphasizing that they are not interchangeable or synonymous although, at times, literary and art historians seem to use the two side by side, or one instead of the other, when referring to the period beginning with Baudelaire and coming up to the present.[2]

Right from the start of the history of the avant-garde, there was recurrent encouragement of cross-pollination of modern art as a consequence of the collaborative nature and transcontinental features of artistic movements, as was, for example, the case of Dada. However, despite Dada being widespread throughout the entire world, including America,[3] for a range of reasons, it did not always find fertile ground in literary and artistic fields, as was the case, for instance, in the Netherlands, where relatively few Dutch avant-garde artists and writers adhered to its principles and, even when they did, they kept their "affiliation as low profile as possible."[4] Therefore, it is prudent to consider that the general tensions we discover in all areas of life between the universal and the particular apply to art history as well, and consequently, caution must be used when drawing generalizations in this context. These tensions often raise crucial problems for cultural and art historians studying the avant-garde, and it is not possible to make sweeping generalizations and assume that all national avant-gardes saw comparable outcomes. Similarly,

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[2] For a comprehensive discussion on the relation between the avant-garde, modernism, and Europe, see Sascha Bru, et al. eds., "Europa! Europa? The Avant-Garde, Modernism, and the Fate of a Continent," in *European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies* (Berlin & New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2009); for a discussion on the difference between "avant-garde" and "modernism" in localized geographies see also Zonghu Wang, "The Debate on Avant-Garde and Modernism—With Russian Futurism and Symbolism as an Example," *Chinese Journal of Slavic Studies* 2, no. 1 (2022): 39–50. https://doi.org/10.1515/cjss-2022–0003; Miklós Szabolcsi. "Avant-Garde, Neo-Avant-Garde, Modernism: Questions and Suggestions," *New Literary History* 3, no. 1 (1971): 49–70. https://doi.org/10.2307/468380.

[3] For a comprehensive discussion on American Dadaists see, Dickran Tashjian, *Skyscraper Primitives: Dada and the American Avant-Garde, 1910–1925* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975).

[4] Hubert van den Berg, "Some reflections on the margins of Dada," in *Virgin Microbe: Essays on Dada (Avant-Garde & Modernism Studies)*, ed. David Hopkins and Michael White (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2013), 79.

it cannot be assumed that aesthetics and literary movements like Dada were universally embraced across various geographies. Due to this rationale, I maintain a cautious stance towards making any broad generalizations in my quest to determine the American cultural patterns that informed the European avant-garde and vice versa with the intent to focus on the significance of the interaction between Romanian and American Dadaists as a unique and specific case study.

This essay keeps at bay the idea that Romanian avant-garde movements were part of the European avant-garde, while Dada was an international phenomenon and not a Romanian product. To eliminate ambiguity, this article considers the Romanian avant-garde as an integral element of the broader European avant-garde movement. The term "Romanian avant-garde," despite its unique features and local manifestations, falls into the broader category of the "European avant-garde" as employed by this essay. Furthermore, the limited space this essay offers does not allow a comprehensive discussion on the place of the Romanian avant-garde within the European avant-garde and, consequently, I regard it as a part of the European avant-garde alongside all other national avant-garde movements active in the interwar period across the European continent.[5] To do otherwise would begin a Sisyphean task of demonstrating what constitutes Romanian in the European avant-garde and concomitantly forcing artists such as Tristan Tzara, Marcel Janco, Victor Brauner, and Constantin Brâncuși out of universality and back into a national sphere.

The Romanian avant-garde was characterized by its radical approach to art, literature, and culture, with artists such as Tzara, Janco, and Brauner leading the charge, being extremely active, and keeping an international profile in the 20s and 30s. Partly due to their reputation as two of the founders of

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[5] See Laura Ceia-Minjares, "Chapter One. "Opting-in, Opting-out: The Radical Melancholy of the Modernist Margin or, Tristan Tzara Places a Double Bet," in *The avant-garde and the margin: New territories of Modernism*, eds. Sanja Bahun-Radunović and Marinos Pourgouris (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006). Ceia-Minjares argues that the perception of Romanian culture is that of a receiver of culture and not of a producer.

Dada in Zurich, a movement that rejected logic and reason in favor of irrationality and nonsense, reflecting the disillusionment felt in the aftermath of the First World War, Tzara and Janco were instrumental in the development of the Romanian avant-garde.[6] In the 1920s, Marcel Janco became the promoter of the avant-garde itself in Romania, standing at the center of the new artistic modes of expression directed against the cultural establishment there, as shown by his numerous contributions to Romanian avant-garde magazines such as *Contimporanul*, *Punct*, and many others, while Tzara's personality had a sort of moral ascendancy over his fellow artists left in Romania. The concrete example lies in two journals, *75 H.P.* and *Integral*, although he was less involved in the Romanian avant-garde in comparison to Janco, who returned and remained in Bucharest until 1941.

The American art scene during the interwar period was also undergoing significant changes. The rise of modernism, characterized by a shift towards abstraction and a rejection of traditional artistic norms, mirrored the avant-garde movements in Europe. Artists like Man Ray, an American visual artist who spent most of his career in France, served as a bridge between the European and American avant-garde scenes, being Dada's most influential representative in New York.[7] Next to Man Ray, other influential avant-garde figures who left a mark on the American public were the French artists Marcel Duchamp and Henrie Matisse, "the Apostles of the Ugly […] [whose art is]

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6 For a comprehensive overview of the thematic issues and the huge amount of secondary literature on Dada that now exists see, Hopkins and White, Virgin Microbe. See also Hans Richter, *Dada. Art and Anti-art* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2016), *Dada Centenary Edition*, with a new introduction and commentary by Michael White, for a consistent discussion on Dada accompanied by consistently interesting documents. For a discussion on Romanian avant-garde and the role Tzara and Janco played see, Paul Cernat, *Avangarda românească și complexul periferiei: primul val* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 2007). For a more specific analysis on the involvement of Jewish artists in the revolutionary imports of the avant-garde into Romanian culture, see Matei Călinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987) and Marin Mincu, *Avangarda literară românească* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1983).

7 On the pioneer of the Dada movement in America, Man Ray, and the extent of his ambition and the difficulty of his task, see Jennifer Mundy, *Man Ray: Writings on Art* (London: Tate, 2016).

striving after sensational effect and the love of the morbid and ugly,"[8] who did not go unnoticed as early as 1913 by the Americans. Duchamp, who together with Katherine Dreier and Ray later created the first museum for modern art in America, Société Anonyme, often presented as art ordinary objects, ready-mades, epitomizing in this way the Dadaist rejection of traditional aesthetic standards. Although each of these artists active in America came into contact with the radical groups of the European avant-garde, the only American artist to fully contribute to and organize the short-lived New York Dada movement remains Man Ray, who shared a close friendship with Tristan Tzara, who guided Man Ray through Paris upon his arrival in 1921.[9] The collaborative partnership and camaraderie between them, which endured for an extended period of time and encompassed a multitude of artistic endeavors, exerted a substantial influence on the direction and development of the avant-garde movement. Man Ray was deeply intrigued by Tzara's avant-garde poetry, which posed a dramatic departure from traditional conceptions of both form and substance. Tzara, in turn, displayed a profound fascination with Man Ray's avant-garde approach to photography and his remarkable talent for imbuing ordinary items with a mysterious quality, therefore elevating them to the status of artistic masterpieces. As a true sign of admiration, Tzara wrote in his preface for a portfolio of twelve images by Man Ray published in December 1922 under the title *Les champs délicieux* (*The delicious fields*): "When all that one calls art was covered with rheumatism, the photograph lit the millions of lights of his lamp, and the sensitive paper absorbed by degrees black."[10] The joint efforts of these individuals led to the creation of a collection of pioneering works that challenged the limitations of their own artistic disciplines.[11]

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8 "Matisse at Montross," *American Art News* 13, no. 16 (January 23, 1915): 2.

9 For a clear analysis of Dada New York and Man Ray's contribution to it see Francis Naumann, "The New York Dada Movement: Better Late than Never," *Arts Magazine* 54, no. 6 (February 1980): 143–49.

10 Man Ray, *Les champs délicieux*, 1922 https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/1040NA.

11 See Idem, *Self Portrait* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1963).

But not only Dada New York had its frontman; in America, Cubism had Stuart Davis, an American abstract artist whose idiosyncratic Cubist artistic experimentation carried clear influences from Picasso, Matisse, Mondrian, and other European avant-gardists.[12] It is then safe to claim that the American avant-garde was directly influenced by the European one, although, of course, it developed its own unique characteristics. What probably differentiated the American avant-garde from its European counterpart and, by extension, from the Romanian avant-garde was its focus on the philosophical and aesthetic aspects of avant-gardist ideology and its lack of overt politicality. It was a reaction against the perceived rationalization and mechanization of society and a critique of the established art world. Despite these differences, the European and American avant-garde shared a common ideology. Both movements rejected traditional artistic norms and embraced the irrational and the absurd. They were reactions against the horrors of the First World War and the societal norms that had led to such devastation. Finally, both movements used shock and provocation as artistic tools, challenging audiences to question their assumptions and perceptions.

Given the overwhelming presence and influence of European artists in America at the beginning of the twentieth century, non-European artists, as was the case with American artists, were involuntarily placed somewhat on the periphery. This led to the appearance of an overwhelming scholarship on the impact of European artists and writers on modern art, such as Picasso, Cezanne, Matisse, Tzara, and so on, while leaving many non-European artists as peripheral figures (a similar fate was endured by European artists who left Europe in the 1940s and relocated to non-European countries; however, since it goes beyond the scope of this essay, it remains to be discussed another time). Nonetheless, the interaction between these two movements underscores the importance of cross-cultural exchanges in the evolution of art, highlighting

[12] For an analysis of Stuart Davis' apprenticeship to Cubism, see William C. Agee, *Stuart Davis (1892–1964): The Breakthrough Years, 1922–1924: Exhibition, November 4–December 26, 1987* (New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, 1987).

the global nature of avant-garde movements of which the Romanian avant-garde was an integral part.

Committed to the Idea of Abstraction

Romania has produced some renowned avant-gardists, among whom Tristan Tzara stands out as a particularly captivating figure. His relationship with the country of his birth exhibited distinctive characteristics, most likely due to his lack of citizenship and the absence of self-reconciliation with his Jewish heritage in the context of the challenges faced by Jews in Romania. He developed a peculiar relationship even with the Romanian language, and towards the end of his life, he ultimately opted to abstain from its usage completely.[13] Tzara's artistic journey was first shaped by the profound impact of French Symbolism and Romanian folklore. Furthermore, his intricate connection with the Romanian language and Jewish identity played a significant role in this process. As a result, Tzara embarked on a path of form and linguistic experimentation, ultimately culminating in his active participation in the Dada movement.

In the American context, Tzara's influence can be seen in the works of many avant-garde and modernist American poets and artists. Tzara's Dadaism was a radical departure from traditional artistic norms, emphasizing the absurd, the chaotic, and the irrational. It was a movement that sought to dismantle prevailing conventions and question the existing social order, an innovative methodology that struck a chord with American artists who were in search of novel means to articulate the disillusionment and societal turmoil prevalent in the aftermath of the war. Tzara's impact on American art was significant, mostly due to his emphasis on the use of chance and unpredictability

[13] For an analysis on how linguistic belonging shaped the identity and creative path of a prominent Dadaists, Tristan Tzara, see Alexandru Bar and Michael White, "Dada Lingua Franca: The Linguistic Fate of Tristan Tzara and Raoul Hausmann," in *Cannibalizing the Canon: Dada Techniques in East-Central Europe*, ed. Oliver A.I. Botar et al. (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2024) Avant Garde Critical Studies.

in the creative process. This was a significant deviation from the conventional and meticulously strategized methodology in the realm of art. Tzara's poetic methodology of creating poetry by randomly selecting words from a hat was a clear demonstration of this principle. This methodology was embraced by other American artists, such as William S. Burroughs, who employed a comparable technique referred to as the 'cut-up' method in his literary works.[14]

The impact of Tzara's influence extended to the domain of visual arts as well. His emphasis on collage, a technique that involves assembling disparate elements in a seemingly random fashion, was adopted by many American artists. The utilization of this approach emerged as a notable characteristic within the realm of American Dada, as seen by the artistic creations of Man Ray and Marcel Duchamp. The use of everyday objects and materials in art, a practice Tzara championed, also emerged as a prevalent characteristic within American art throughout this particular era. The impact of Tzara's aesthetic vision passes the test of time, for in the 1960s and 1970s, the creative output of American artists, including Robert Rauschenberg Jasper Johns, and the poets associated with the Beat Generation still carried Tzara's influence.[15] These artists, much like Tzara, demonstrated a deliberate rejection of conventional artistic conventions and instead embraced the principles of spontaneity and non-conformity. In conclusion, Tristan Tzara's influence on American art in the interwar period was profound and far-reaching, but he was not the only one.

In 1936, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City, under the directorship of Alfred H. Barr Jr., published two ground-breaking catalogs that would forever shape the discourse of modern art. These catalogs, *Cubism and Abstract Art* and "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," were not merely

[14] For more on this method, see A.D. Hitchin and Joe Ambrose, *CUT UP! An Anthology Inspired by the Cut-Up Method of William S. Burroughs & Brion Gysin* (London: Oneiros Books, 2014).

[15] John Tytell, "Art and Letters: The Beat Generation and the Continuing American Revolution," *The American Scholar* 42, no. 2 (1973): 308–17, Accessed August 2, 2023. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41207113.

inventories of exhibited works but were scholarly treatises that offered a new perspective on the evolution and significance of modern art movements. To fulfill the objective of this essay of briefly documenting and elucidating the transatlantic trajectory of modern art, I have deemed it appropriate to examine the two catalogs curated by Barr, for his catalogs had a purpose beyond being simply exhibition guides. They encompassed intellectual endeavors by offering a historical and theoretical foundation for comprehending the art trends they addressed. Barr's curatorial methodology and utilization of the catalog as a vehicle for art historical discourse were characterized by innovation and significant influence and were not mere lists of shown artworks. These catalogs were true scholarly treatises that presented a novel viewpoint on the development and importance of contemporary art trends.

The initial catalog, titled *Cubism and Abstract Art*, served as a companion to a significant show that systematically documented the evolution of abstract art. The catalog cover designed by Barr, featuring a flow chart that establishes connections between different historical art styles, has attained an iconic status as a symbol of the rise of abstract art. The diagram served as both a visual synopsis of the show and a representation of the overarching endeavor of contemporary art. The presented work may be described as a didactic genealogy of interconnected "isms," serving as a visual narrative that effectively elucidates the intricate dynamics of influences and counterinfluences that have contributed to the formation of contemporary art.

Among the artists featured in this catalog was the Romanian sculptor Constantin Brâncuși, whose work was instrumental in shaping the trajectory of modern sculpture. Next to Tzara, Brâncuși is probably the best represented Romanian artist in the American sphere. The inclusion of Brâncuși in Barr's catalog served as evidence of his avant-garde approach to sculpture, characterized by a revolutionary reduction of forms and an emphasis on the intrinsic properties of the materials employed. The artist's body of work exhibited a notable deviation from the conventional, realistic method of sculpting, therefore associating him with the progressive artistic movements of the early 20th century that aimed to rethink the parameters of creative

manifestation.[16] In the catalog, Barr emphasized the significant role of Brâncuși in the advancement of abstract art, positioning him as a key figure in the transition from the representational art of the 19th century to the abstract art of the 20th century. Brâncuși's sculptures, with their smooth surfaces and simplified forms, were presented as embodiments of the modernist aesthetic, which valued abstraction, innovation, and the deliberate departure from established artistic norms. Barr's examination of Brâncuși's work in the catalog extended beyond its formal aspects. Additionally, the author delved into the philosophical foundations of Brancusi's sculptural technique, acknowledging his conviction in the spiritual power of art and his aspiration to encapsulate the intrinsic nature of his subjects, prioritizing it over their superficial representation and physical appearance. The focus placed on the spiritual and metaphysical elements present in Brâncuși's artwork aligns with Barr's overarching fascination with the intellectual and cultural environments that influenced the creation of modern art.

Cubism and Abstract Art offered a pioneering perspective on Constantin Brâncuși's work, highlighting his innovative approach to sculpture and his significant contribution to the development of modern art. Barr's examination of Brâncuși's creative methodology and its relevance in relation to the wider framework of contemporary art helped position Brâncuși as a key figure in the modernist movement both in Europe and America, helping to cement his legacy as one of the most influential sculptors of the 20th century. Brâncuși's distinctiveness becomes evident right from the Contents, whereby his name is situated alongside several art groups. Within the realm of artistic names such as Cubist sculpture, Abstract painting in Russia, and Post-war Germany: the Bauhaus, the sole artist mentioned by name is Brâncuși. Prominent artists such as Picasso, van Gogh, Arp, Moore, Kandinsky, and several more are not discussed in isolation as Brâncuși but rather within the context of various

[16] For more on the sculptor Constantin Brancusi and his impact on the art of his century, see Eric Shanes, *Constantin Brancusi* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989). See also, Florence M. Hetzler, ed., *Art and Philosophy: Brancusi: The Courage to Love* (New York: Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 1992).

aesthetic movements. The significance of Brâncuși to Barr is of great importance, as Barr attributes his name to an entire artistic movement. This was most likely due to a close relation between Constantin Brâncuși and several American artists and patrons. Brâncuși, who was based in Paris but exhibited extensively in the United States, had a profound influence on American modernism. His simplified forms and innovative use of materials resonated with American artists such as Isamu Noguchi and Georgia O'Keeffe, and his work was championed by influential patrons like Peggy Guggenheim.[17]

The second catalog, titled *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, served as a companion to MoMA's inaugural exhibition that specifically centered on the artistic movements of Dada and Surrealism. The collection provided a thorough compilation of Dada artworks, encompassing both the Dadaists' own shows and serving as the inaugural presentation of Dada as a significant historical trend. The inventory compiled by Barr was not without controversy, inciting intense responses from different groups within the Dadaist and Surrealist movements. Notwithstanding the contentious nature surrounding it, the catalog had a pivotal function in solidifying Dada and Surrealism as noteworthy trends within the annals of modern art history.

If Tzara is only mentioned in *Cubism and Abstract Art*, *in Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, Barr calls Tristan Tzara the "Principal founder of Dada movement, Zurich, 1916. Paris, 1919–22."[18] I will refrain from delving into an extensive analysis of the veracity of this assertion, but suffice to say, this marked a recurring occurrence for Tzara when discussing the origins of Dada and his role within it.[19] In this catalog, the pervasive presence of his dominant personality is evident throughout, as he is often cited as a contributor of drawings to the show. Notably, one of the drawings he lends is included on

[17] For more on this, see Nicolas Calas, Elena Calas, and Paola Gribaudo, eds., *The Peggy Guggenheim Collection of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001).

[18] George Hugnet, "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," in *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, ed. Alfred Hamilton Jr. Barr and George Hugnet, 3rd ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Ar, 1936), 231.

[19] Tzara was even accused at some point of having stolen the name Dada. For more on his former Dada colleague Christian Schad's accusation that Tzara had stolen the name Dada and the content of the 1918 Manifesto, see Michel Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, ed. Anne Sanouillet, trans. Sharmila Ganguly (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), 198–9.

the cover, a fact that is disclosed at the outset of the guide: "The design on title page and cover is a drawing by Hans Arp, lent by Tristan Tzara."[20] Based on the available evidence, it may be inferred that Tzara's level of involvement may have been more than initially perceived. This inference is drawn from the observation that Marcel Janco, Tzara's childhood friend with whom he had a falling out, is conspicuously excluded from the catalog despite his significant contributions to the avant-garde movement throughout the 1930s. Given Barr's rigorousness in documenting these catalogs, it is quite peculiar how he omitted a central figure of Dada. Nonetheless, Alfred H. Barr's 1936 MoMA catalogs were ground-breaking works that shaped the discourse of modern art. They were not merely guides to exhibitions but scholarly publications that offered a historical and theoretical context for comprehending the art movements that were the subject of their coverage. Barr's use of these catalogs resulted in the establishment of a novel paradigm for curatorial practices and art historical discussions, which has had a lasting impact on the field up until the present time.

Ultimately, the creative contributions of Brâncuși and Tzara have had a lasting impact both within Romania and on a global scale. However, not only the Americans benefited from the transnational nature of the avant-garde. There is evidence to suggest that the creative and architectural aspects of the relationship were notably favorable for Romania as well. The American influence on Bucharest's architecture during the interwar period was largely a result of Romania's desire to modernize and westernize, making the impact of American architectural tendencies, particularly remarkable. Bucharest, frequently dubbed as "The Little Paris of the East" due to its refined architectural designs and diverse cultural atmosphere, saw a transformation in its architectural environment, resembling a miniature version of New York City. However, it is important to note that Bucharest did not replicate the grandeur and magnitude of New York in any aspect, even if its cultural dynamism, diversity, and resilience did.

[20] Ibid.

Interwar Bucharest, from the "Little Paris of the East" to "Little New York"

The era between 1918 and 1939 witnessed notable architectural changes in Bucharest. The period under consideration, commonly referred to as the "Golden Age" of Bucharest architecture, was characterized by a distinctive amalgamation of architectural styles, encompassing Neoclassicism, Art Deco, and Modernism. Among these many inspirations, the significant impact of American architectural trends stood out prominently. The architectural developments witnessed in Bucharest during the interwar period were predominantly influenced by the United States. The end of the First World War signified the commencement of a novel epoch for Romania, as the nation acquired substantial territory and endeavored to establish itself as a contemporary and forward-thinking state. The United States, having become as a prominent worldwide force, came to exemplify this ideal. Slowly, although the French influence in Romania remained almost intact culturally, architecturally, the bohemian Fin-de-siècle "Little Paris"[21] was undergoing a transformation towards a bustling metropolitan landscape reminiscent of "Little New York," characterized by the presence of skyscrapers and a vibrant city life.

The introduction of skyscrapers had a notable impact on the interwar architecture of Bucharest, representing a substantial American influence. The architectural idea of vertical building, which originated in the United States, was adopted in Bucharest but on a more limited scale. Two years after the inauguration of the Empire State Building in New York, in Bucharest, the first skyscraper was built in a modernist style with Art Deco decorations and elements of Egyptian inspiration. The Telephone Palace, which was fully constructed in 1934, serves as a prominent illustration of this impact, further

[21] One response in France was "Thank God Paris is not a large Bucharest," Božidar Jezernik, "Europeanisation of the Balkans," in Sokol Shupo, ed., *Urban Music in the Balkans: Drop-out Ethnic Identities or a Historical Case of Tolerance and Global Thinking?* (Tirana: Asmus, 2006), (23–31): 26, as cited in Jim Samson, *Music in the Balkans* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 213.

contributing to the Americanization of the city's architecture. The edifice, which was the highest in Bucharest during its construction, was inspired by the American skyscraper style, one in particular, to be precise, the International Telephone Building on 75 Broad Street, New York, since both were designed by architect Louis Weeks, in particular the Chicago School. The construction of the Telephone Palace in Bucharest involved the collaborative efforts of Edmond van Saanen-Algi, a Romanian architect with Dutch heritage, unfairly forgotten by history. It is worth noting that van Saanen-Algi faced numerous challenges in obtaining the necessary building permit for this groundbreaking skyscraper, as he had to navigate through a series of bureaucratic procedures and gain the approval of multiple committees in Bucharest since it represented a complete revolution in local urban art and ultimately, marking a move from the city's reputation as "Little Paris" to a more contemporary and cosmopolitan identity akin to "Little New York."[22]

The impact of American architectural styles on the city of Bucharest during the interwar period extended beyond the realm of skyscrapers. The Art Deco aesthetic, which gained popularity in the United States throughout the 1920s and 1930s, was also embraced in Bucharest, creating a "luxurious and exuberant architecture, representative for the capitalist success."[23] The pervasive impact of American Art Deco is evident in several architectural structures around the city, including notable examples like the ARO Building, the old Bucharest Stock Exchange Palace, and The Palace of the Central Insurance Company. These structures feature geometric forms, rich ornamentation, and streamlined aesthetics characteristic of the Art Deco style.[24]

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[22] For a complete discussion on the history of this building, its importance and the life of architect Edmond van Saanen-Algi, see Oana Marinache and Gabriel Badea-Păun, *Edmond Van Saanen-Algi: de la Baletele rusești la Palatul Telefoanelor* (Bucharest: Istoria Artei, 2015).

[23] Alexandru Popescu, *Casele și palatele Bucureștilor* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2018), 70.

[24] For a comprehensive discussion on Bucharest's Art Deco buildings, see *București/Bucarest: Modernism Art Deco 1920–1945. Un ghid vizual de arhitectură/A visual guide to architecture*, (Bucharest: Asociația Igloo Habitat & Arhitectură, 2018). See also, Mihaela Criticos, *Art Deco sau modernismul bine temperat / Art Deco or Well-Tempered Modernism* (Bucharest: Simetria, 2010).

The American influence on Bucharest's interwar architecture also extended to urban planning. The city's expansion during this period was guided by principles of the City Beautiful movement, which originated in the United States.[25] This movement emphasized the importance of monumental grandeur, symmetry, and order in urban design. The influence of this movement can be seen in the layout of Bucharest's central areas, which feature wide boulevards, large public squares, and grand civic buildings. Nevertheless, the impact of American influence on the interwar architecture of Bucharest was not devoid of dispute. There was a fear that the incorporation of American architectural forms within Romania might be perceived as a manifestation of cultural imperialism, potentially eroding the country's indigenous architectural heritage. Fortunately, the imperative to embrace current ideas and promote society's progress outweighed the apprehensions of conservative factions.

Ultimately, the impact of American influence on the interwar architecture of Bucharest culminated in the development of a distinctive architectural milieu that harmoniously amalgamates historic Romanian architectural forms with contemporary American ones. The amalgamation of architectural forms in Bucharest has bestowed upon the city a unique and captivating character, which continues to fascinate both visitors and academics.

It is important to note that Romania's political relationship with the United States did not see comparable dissemination of ideas as witnessed in the realm of art. While the Romanian avant-garde interactions with American artists during this period were facilitated by the increasing internationalization of the art world, with artists traveling, exhibiting, and working across borders more frequently than ever before, as discussed previously, the political and commercial relations were not always as fruitful.

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[25] For a discussion of the goals and political reform ideology of the City Beautiful, see William H. H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement (Creating the North American Landscape)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

"The Americans are coming!"

Vin americanii! ("The Americans are coming!") was the expression I remember my grandfather using when I asked him about his recollections of his boyhood and the war. Although his entire life has been dominated by a Communist experience, severely indoctrinated, and subjected to extensive propaganda, paradoxically, he held a somewhat contradictory belief to his Communist upbringing that the Americans should have intervened in Romania at the end of the Second World War and help. From that moment on, I have often contemplated the experiences of my grandfather as an adolescent while he awaited the arrival of American forces, pondering the duration of time it needed for him to comprehend that their arrival was not forthcoming. In perpetuity! It is quite probable that the emotions of resignation, disillusionment, and disappointment gradually transitioned into a state of total acceptance of the emerging Communist reality. And yes, I acknowledge that this anecdote portrays my grandfather as a prominent theorist in the field of contemporary sociology, whose ideas should serve as guiding principles for entire societies despite he was not a scholar but an aircraft maintenance technician. However, his words did capture the prevailing sentiment among Romanian workers who, despite enduring oppression under the Communist regime, maintained a steadfast belief that the United States would ultimately liberate Romania from Soviet influence.

This anecdote and the slogan "The Americans are coming!" are but one response that must be seen in the larger context. The aforementioned phrase effectively captures the profound and far-reaching consequences of the entrance of American soldiers on Romanian territory throughout the course of the Second World War, highlighting the significance of international cooperation and the enduring ties between nations. At the end of the Second World War, Romania underwent a significant political shift towards communism. This was largely due to the influence of the Soviet Union, which had occupied the country in 1944, and the communists gradually increased their power through a series of purges, intimidation, and fraudulent elections until 1947,

when King Michael I was forced by the communists to abdicate on December 30, and the People's Republic of Romania was declared.

It was only after the fall of communism following the 1989 Revolution that the Romanian people reprised their hopes that the West, and above all, the U.S.A., would finally come and save them. Following the events of 1989 in Romania, a notable intellectual trend emerged that idealized the historical Romanian American connections preceding the Second World War that occasionally exhibited characteristics of an American obsession rather than a genuine goal. The central figure of this new wave was Queen Marie of Romania, whose first (and only) visit to the United States became the subject of several books[26] fueling this way Romanians' post-1989 adoration for everything American. The allusion to a deeper and stronger friendship between the two nations lasting from time immemorial has become Romania's central, although rather naïve focus, with the scope to reinforce the belief of an unbreakable Romanian American bond and continuous cultural exchange despite Romania's communist past.

The often-ignored historical reality of the relations between the two countries and their uneven path, both economically and politically speaking, did not seem to matter in recent years when some historians[27] on both sides tried to demonstrate this long and durable friendship, although all evidence

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[26] See for instance, Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Regina Maria și America* (Bucharest: Noi Media Print, 2009); Constance Lily Morris, *On Tour with Queen Marie*, ed. Adrian-Silvan Ionescu (Bucharest: The Romanian Cultural Publishing House, 1999); Diana Mandache, *Americans and Queen Marie of Romania: A Selection of Documents* (Bucharest: Center for Romanian Studies, 1998); Dan Dimancescu, *Regina Maria în America* (Morrisville: lulu.com, 2019); To these we can add Hannah Pakula, *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984); Julia P. Gelardi, *Born to Rule: Five Reigning Consorts, Granddaughters of Queen Victoria* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2006); and Queen Marie's own observations in her memoirs and diaries published in several books under different names in recent years, too many to list here.

[27] See for instance, Ion Stanciu and Paul Cernovodeanu, *Distant Lands: the Genesis and Evolution of Romanian-American Relations* (East European Monographs, 1986); Paul D. Quinlan, "Early American Relations with Romania, 1858–1914," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne Des Slavistes* 22, no. 2 (1980): 187–207, Accessed June 6, 2023, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40867715.

indicates a pattern of a big power-small power relationship between Romania and the United States before and throughout the entire interwar period. To simplify, the reasons for the underdeveloped relations and exchanges between the two were simple: the two countries were simply too far from each other, the main exports of Romania – petroleum, wheat, and animal products – were coincidentally also major exports of the U.S., and therefore there was not any market for their goods in the other's country, and probably most important, Romania had oriented its entire efforts towards its European neighbors and had no aspiration to act as a great power despite being the second largest state in the region. Next to all these disruptive forces, another one remained constant: the Jewish "Question."

The Jews living in Romania proved to be problematic to the new kingdom ever since its birth, and therefore, Romanian American relations were constantly dominated by the minorities problem.[28] It was closely observed by the American press and especially by the American Jewish organizations that were actively campaigning against the treatment of the Hungarian, German, Ukrainian, and, most importantly, Jewish minorities in Romania. Consequently, the image of Greater Romania in the United States was negative. The strong anti-Romanian lobby in Washington, D.C., conducted by the Hungarian diaspora following the Treaty of Trianon, through which Transylvania came under the control of Romania, contributed to the negative image that Romania already had in the eyes of many American officials who were largely uninformed about the oppressive conditions under which Romanians had existed in the Austro- Hungarian Empire.

Although the American-Romanian politico-economic interactions between the United States and Romania left room for interpretations, the relief comes from knowing that the creative and architectural components of the connection exhibited a noticeably more beneficial nature. The interwar

[28] For more on the Romanian Jews and how their status impacted the relationships between the US and Romania see, Lloyd P. Gartner, "*Roumania*, America, and World Jewry: Consul Peixotto in Bucharest, 1870–1876," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (1968): 24–117. Accessed June 6, 2023. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23880689.

period witnessed a substantial and far-reaching interplay of creative elements within the context of American-Romanian ties, yielding a reciprocal and permanent influence.

Conclusions

The interwar period was a time of significant transformation in Romania, with American influences playing a key role. The impact of American influence on the interwar architecture of Bucharest was diverse, incorporating elements related to style, technology, and urban planning. Despite the contentious nature of its impact, this influence has played a crucial part in creating the architectural character of Bucharest and its progression as a contemporary urban center. Presently, the edifices from this particular epoch serve as a witness to a crucial phase in the architectural history of Bucharest and serve as an emblem of the city's ongoing affiliation with American architectural styles. In turn, avant-garde artists from Romania have made significant contributions to the development of American art through inventive and unusual techniques, even though they did not participate as Romanians in any art movement but as avant-gardists questioning old standards. The question of avant-garde artists' heritage is crucial within the realm of art and cultural history for these artists did not engage in their creative endeavors as representatives of their religious, national, or ethnic affiliations. Rather, they functioned as integrated collaborators, with their legacy being, at best, just a statistical fact.[29]

This essay highlighted the significant impact of Tristan Tzara, a prominent Romanian-born avant-garde artist, on the American art scene as a pivotal character within the Dada movement, while Constantin Brâncuși, a widely recognized pioneering figure in the realm of modernist sculpture, brought his artistic contributions to the American shores in the form of his inventive

[29] Steven E. Aschheim, "The Avant-garde and the Jews," in *Jewish Aspects in Avant-Garde: Between Rebellion and Revelation*, ed. Mark H. Gilber and Sami Sjöberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), (253–74) 256.

manipulation of form and material, exerting a significant influence on American sculpture. The impact of Tzara's artistic influence is readily apparent in the creative output of American artists such as Man Ray and Marcel Duchamp, who wholeheartedly embraced the Dadaist principles of absurdity and irrationality. The revolutionary attitude of Brâncuși towards form and material exerted a significant effect on a generation of American artists, including Isamu Noguchi and Donald Judd. This ongoing impact on American art is still exemplified today by the recreation of Brâncuși's workshop within the Museum of Modern Art in New York. There were, of course, others. Several Romanian-born artists and writers have made a significant impact on American art. For instance, Eugène Ionesco, a prominent figure in the Theatre of the Absurd, left a lasting impression on American theatre. His influence can be observed in the works of American playwrights such as Edward Albee and Sam Shepard. Additionally, the nihilistic and pessimistic perspectives of philosopher and essayist Emil Cioran have had a profound effect on American literature. Cioran's exploration of existential and philosophical themes has influenced American writers like Thomas Ligotti and Eugene Thacker. However, this essay is constrained by spatial limitations, which restrict the extent of an in-depth analysis of all these topics while presenting an avenue for future scholars to go further into this subject matter and uncover new insights.

In conclusion, the artistic dynamics of American-Romanian relations during the interwar period were both significant and extensive, resulting in a mutual and enduring impact. The innovative and unconventional approaches of the avant-garde have challenged traditional norms and inspired new forms of artistic expression in Romania as well as America; their influence is evident in various aspects of interwar art, from the visual arts to theatre and literature.

Romania's Participation in the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair in an Elite Context: Enescu, Maria Tănase, and Brâncuși[*]

Roxana Mihaly

The New York World's Fair, held in 1939–1940 at the Flushing Meadows in the New York borough of Queens, is undoubtedly an event that marked the cultural and technological history of the twentieth century. Organized under the aegis of *Building the World of Tomorrow whit the Tools of Today*, this monumental exhibition was conceived not only as a solemn tribute to the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of George Washington's inauguration in New York[1] but also as a global forum for progress and innovation. The initiative grew under the guidance of a non-profit corporation formed as early as 1935, under the auspices of illustrious business leaders and the civic community, funded through a combination of federal, state, municipal and private sources. Thus, in the spring of 1939, the world was convened to explore and dialogue around an optimistically anticipated future in a meaningful historical context. The organizers included nearly sixty nations, thirty-three states and territories of the United States, and more than a thousand exhibitors, some of whom represented the spearheads of American corporations.[2] This

[*] This chapter was supported by the Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding-UEFISCDI, the National Research Council – CNCS, the Ministry of Education (Romania), Project PN-III-P4-PCE-2021–0688, Contract 29 from 27 May 2022, title *The Ethos of Dialogue and Education: Romanian-American Cultural Negotiations (1920–1940).*

[1] David M. Rubenstein, *The American story: conversations with master historians* (New York: Simon&Schuster, 2019), 13–19. Reluctantly elected as the nation's first president, Washington was inaugurated on April 30, 1789, at Federal Hall in New York City, then the seat of the US Government.

[2] Andrew F Wood, *New York's 1939–1940 World's Fair* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 7–8.

manifestation of world-class interconnections was initially proposed by civil engineer Joseph Shadgen, also notorious for recommending the selection of the event area. A less developed location was chosen in the borough of Queens, described by F. Scott Fitzgerald in his 1925 novel *The Great Gatsby* as a "valley of ashes."[3] The organizers wished the fair's perspective to be future-oriented – not in the sense of anticipating the unknown and predicting the shape of things a century later – but in the sense of offering a fresh and more insightful vision of the present in preparation for tomorrow.[4] From the perspective of its size, either analyzed in terms of financial amplitude, spatial expansion, media impact, or external governmental participation, the exhibition nonchalantly eclipsed all similar previously-organized events. New York City had not hosted an exhibition event of this magnitude since the time of the famous Crystal Palace in 1853.[5]

Therefore, with the support of the city's Parks Commissioner, Robert Moses, and Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, extensive work was initiated to transform this land into a suitable space to host an event of global proportions.[6] Consequently, the New York World's Fair attracted about forty-five million visitors during the two years.[7]

In this context, Romania's participation under the direct coordination of the Commissioner General of the Romanian pavilion, Professor Dimitrie Gusti and the Secretary of the Washington Legation, Andrei Popovici, as Deputy Commissioner General, in one of the most important international exhibitions of the era has its origin in the ambition to present to the American public a comprehensive and authentic picture of the achievements of Romanians in areas such as culture, art, science, or economics, but at the

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[3] Bill Cotter, *The 1939–1940 New York World's Fair* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 7–9.

[4] Richard Wurts, Stanley Appelbaum, *The New York World's Fair 1939* (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), 16–20.

[5] Cited in Burrows Edwin G. *The Finest Building in America: The New York Crystal Palace 1853–1858* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[6] Wurts Richard, Stanley Appelbaum *New York World's Fair 1939* (New York: Dover Publications, 2013), 10–16.

[7] Wood, *New York's 1939–940 World's Fair,* 8.

same time this participation would cost the Romanian state dearly. Following the event's central axiom, Romania would present eloquent representations of its contributions to shaping the "world of tomorrow." The Romanian presence was organized in two pavilions on three sections, namely in the National Pavilion located among the Hall of Nations, the Romanian House situated in the area dedicated to foreign participants and a section devoted to the diversity of Romanian industry, agriculture, arts and craftsmen.[8] The National Pavilion of Romania, designed by the architect Prince George Matei Cantacuzino, was a concentrated effort to offer visitors a complete perspective on contemporary Romania.[9] Based on the traditional Romanian architectural model, it was made entirely of marble from Ruschitza, the Romanian House, according to the plans of architect Octav Doicescu, here the Romanian restaurant would also function.[10]

Also, at a short distance from the National Pavilion within the exhibition in New York, there was the Romanian House, made according to the plans of architect Octav Doicescu, in pure Romanian style. It was built on four levels with stone balconies modeled by Romanian monasteries, even having a tower, all of which led to the characteristic style of traditional houses from the Olt region. Throughout this space, a restaurant was organized where guests could enjoy Romanian dishes and authentic Romanian music and were invited to maintain the atmosphere of some of the most famous orchestras in Romania. The third floor of the building was dedicated to craft art.[11]

Ahead of the official opening of the event, New York Exhibition Commissioner General for Europe Albin Johnson declared to the daily *Foaia Poporului (The People's Paper)*[12] of January 22, 1939:

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[8] Cited in Laurențiu Vlad, *Pavilioanele României la Expoziția universală de la New York, 1939, ARHITEXT&DESIGN, Institutul de Arhitectură "Ion Mincu"* X, no. 7 (126), (2003): 44–46.

[9] Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive (henceforth A.M.A.E.), Bucharest, Washington fund, vol. 215.

[10] Ibid.

[11] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215.

[12] Ibid. *Foaia Poporului*, January 22, 1939, Cleveland, Ohio.

> […] I wish to take this opportunity to say how much the American government and nation cherish the great effort that the sovereign of Romania and your country are making for the success of the Universal Exposition. Through a personal message, President Roosevelt thanked His Eminence, King Carol, for the direct interest that His Majesty had shown in accepting the invitation of the United States to participate. On behalf of Mr. Grover Whalen, President of the Universal Exposition in New York, and Mr. La Guardia, Mayor of New York City, as well as of all the officials of the Exhibition, I express at the same time my warmest thanks for the honor that Romania gives to the Commissariat of the Fair and the City of New York.[13]

A few weeks later, on February 12, 1939, at 1:30 p.m., radio stations were broadcasting *Ora Românească (The Romanian Hour)* in America, an event conceived by the Commissariat General of Romania for the exhibition in New York.

In his message, King Carol asserted:

> Romania responded spontaneously and with the greatest enthusiasm to the invitation addressed by the United States of America to participate in the New York World's Fair. Romania's acceptance was inspired by the feeling of deep admiration, given that the Romanian people are convinced that this international event will contribute to a better understanding between peoples and, as such, will allow the improvement and strengthening of friendship ties between different nations.[14]

At the same time, the newspaper *New York Herald Tribune* reported that in the week named by the organizers *Salute of Nations*, King Carol of Romania was the first European king to deliver his courtesy message in English through the radio of the organizers of the Universal Exposition:

> I am proud that the work of regenerating Rumania, undertaken with much courage and decision by men of good will, begins to bear such good fruit that we can take part in this international exhibition with real pride. The Rumanian pavilion at New York will prove our steady efforts toward general progress. It will show that Rumania, situated at the crossroads of so many civilizations, has managed, whilst fighting for centuries in self- defense, to

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[13] Ibid.

[14] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215. *Foaia Poporului*, March 5, 1939, Cleveland, Ohio

> create for herself a specific national civilization of which she is truly proud. On this path we base our continuous march towards progress and we want to show this consistent development to the whole world.[15]

According to the inventory report of the exhibition liquidation commission presented in 1942[16] for the organization of the pavilions, a series of valuable objects and works of famous artists like Constantin Jiquidi, Teodorescu Sion, Cecilia Cruțescu Stork, Ion Theodorescu-Sion, Mac Constantinescu, Theodor Aman, Theodor Pallady, Gheorghe Petrașcu, Nicolae Grigorescu, Marius Bunescu, Nicolae Tonitza, Ion Andreescu, Nicolae Dărăscu, Samuel Mützner, Nicolae Vermont, Oscar Han or Ion Jalea were to restore the atmosphere of the Romanian artistic space.[17] Some of these artworks and other objects that contributed to creating the Romanian space's atmosphere were to be brought directly from the International Art Exhibition in Paris in 1937. Some of the objects obtained from the country would later be distributed to St. Demetrius Orthodox Church in Manhattan, the Romanian Legation in Washington, or the Museum in Queens.[18]

Another essential step in the World's Fair in New York was the establishment of a propaganda bureau within the General Commission of Romania[19] under the leadership of diplomat Andrei Popovici, they helped promote the country's image by producing informative and promotional materials, such as bulletins, stamps, posters, and brochures. He also distributed presentations of Romania to US publications and newspapers, supporting a vision of a new Romania grounded in an innovative, future-oriented social contract and built

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15 A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215. *New York Herald Tribune*, Monday, February 13, 1939.

16 National Archives of Romania (henceforth A.N.R.) – Bucharest, M.E.N. fund, *World's Fairs in Paris (1937) and New York (1939)*, vol. 7/1939–1943, 1–20.

17 Ibid, vol. 12/1939–1943, 4.

18 A.N.R., Bucharest, M.E.N. Fund – *World's Fairs in Paris (1937) and New York (1939)*, vol. 11 / 1944, 2–11.

19 Cf Vlad, *România la expoziția internațională de la New York (1939–1940). Un moment din istoria diplomației culturale autohtone: documente privind înființarea și funcționarea unui birou de propagandă în SUA*, in *Studia Politica. Romanian Political Science Review*, VI, 4 (2006), 949–958/ (Institute of Political Research, University of Bucharest, Romania – Nemira).

with Romanian resources.[20] In all this context, the organizers of Romania's presence at the New York World's Fair in the rich program they would conceive initially regarded the Romanian presence expressed interest in arranging an exhibition dedicated to Constantin Brancusi, so on September 19, 1938, Deputy Commissioner General, Andrei Popovici wrote to Mr. R.P. Bardell, administrator of the exhibition buildings:

> The Romanian High Commissioner is also interested in arranging an exhibition for the well-known Romanian sculptor Brancusi. For this purpose, we would need a hall of about 250 meters surface, and of a height of 6 to 6 1/2 meters. Will you please inform me if such a hall will be available on the Fair site and in the affirmative on what conditions could it be leased?[21]

A few weeks later, Deputy Commissioner General Andrei Popovici, more precisely on November 3, 1938, informed Professor Dimitrie Gusti, as General Commissioner of Romania for the International Exhibition in New York, of the way Romanian propaganda was organized within the exhibition, highlighting the material sacrifices Romania had brought *to have a more dignified, richer, and more artistic participation*. In his roughly ten-page report, Popovici concluded his propaganda bureau strategy as follows:

> Your Excellency will deign to note that I have not dealt with the immense publicity value that Mr. Enescu's art represents for us. This is no longer necessary to dwell on. Similarly, in a much smaller circle of refined amateurs of modern art, Mr. Brancusi's exhibition will be an absolute sensation, especially since the Romanian quality of this great artist has not been sufficiently emphasized in America.[22]

Finally, after assessing the extremely high expenses in organizing Romania's participation in the New York exhibition, the idea of presenting Brâncuși is abandoned.

In all this grand-scale context, a series of events were to be organized periodically, thus Romania was granted the organization *Săptămânii muzicale*

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[20] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 213.

[21] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 213, No. 98/b New York World's Fair 1939 Inc. Administration Building World's Fair, New York, September 19,1938.

[22] Ibid, n.217/a Report – *How Romanian propaganda could be organized at the 1939 New York World's Fai*r (November 3, 1938).

româneşti (Romanian Musical Week)[23] with the world-renowned Romanian composer, violinist and conductor George Enescu as a guest of honor, who conducted two orchestras, the one in New York and the one in Philadelphia.[24] Initially, three concerts were negotiated, which Enescu's planned, one on May 2, when the official inauguration of the pavilion was scheduled, another on May 14, on the occasion of *Ziua României (Romania's Day)* at the Fair, and another concert on May 16, with the Philadelphia orchestra.[25] However, in the end, after a long correspondence between the Deputy Commissioner General, Andrei Popovici and the organizers of the exhibition, it was agreed to organize only two concerts: one on the occasion of the inauguration of the Romanian pavilion with the New York orchestra and another on Romania Day, at the Metropolitan Opera House, together with the Philadelphia orchestra.

Enescu's arrival in America would also be announced by the *New York Times* as early as March 1939. In an extensive article, they presented the entire musical artistic program that was to take place throughout the year starting with April 30, when the opening of the big event took place:

> The Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra of New York, the official Fair orchestra, will present a series of concerts at the Music Hall beginning on the opening day of the fair, April 30, and continuing through May. In addition to its regular conductor. John Barbirolli, the orchestra will be led by Dr. Walter Damrosch, Georges Enesco and Burle Marx, Brazilian conductor.[26]

Therefore, George Enescu entered the stage of the World's Fair in New York with the New York Philharmonic – Symphony Orchestra on May 5, 1939, when the official opening of the Romanian pavilion took place. In the concert program proposed by the great composers, there was no way to miss his famous composition, *The Romanian Rhapsody*.[27]

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[23] Ibid, vol. 203. *Universul*, Saturday, December 24, 1938.

[24] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215.

[25] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 203.

[26] *The New York Times*, Sunday, March 12, 1939.

[27] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 203, Enesco Programs, World's Fair Hall of Music, Friday Evening May 5th.

Also, the newspaper *Universul* of May 17, 1939,[28] reported that the day dedicated to Romania at the New York World's Fair was celebrated with a grand reception, which Mr. Edward Flynn, the Fair's General Commissioner, offered in honor of the Commissioner General of Romania, Dimitrie Gusti in the federal Court of Peace pavilion:

> At this important ceremony, Washington, Mr. Radu Irimescu, Minister of Romania, arrived from Washington with Mrs. Radu Irimescu, together with the senior staff of the Romanian legation. […] Mr. Radu Irimescu, Minister of Romania, delivered a speech, after which Mrs. Pia Igy interpreted several Romanian arias, accompanied by the orchestra under the direction of Mr. Grigoras Dinicu. On Sunday evening, a gala concert was given, maestro George Enescu leading the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, the most famous orchestra in America. The concert program consisted exclusively of Romanian works, performing, among others, *Rapsodia Română (Romanian Rhapsody)* by George Enescu. This concert was attended by over a thousand personalities, invited by Mr. Minister Gusti. The concert is counted as the culmination of the *Săptămâna Românească (Romanian Week)*, part of the international celebrations.[29]

A few days later, George Enescu would also lead the Philadelphia orchestra at the Metropolitan Opera House, on which occasion it was decorated in the colors of Romania.

> With the Romanian Music Festival on May 14, 1939, at the Metropolitan Opera House, Enescu concluded the last American tour in a series that was supposed to continue in 1940. Only in the autumn of 1946, after the devastating years of the war, through an approach that was and is multiple commented on in the political context of the time, Enescu returned to New York with the ship "Ardealul."[30]

The second concert conducted by maestro George Enescu, as reported by the newspaper Universul on May 18, 1939, was the most impressive and significant musical event of the year, attended by over four thousand guests, including the mother of the President of the United States, Sara Delano

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[28] *Universul*, no. 132, Wednesday 17 May 1939, 12

[29] Ibid.

[30] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215.

Roosevelt. The great Romanian conductor's program was a moving and characteristic example of the Romanian people's music and spirit, proving simultaneously the merit of the new school of composers.

> The maestro Enescu's first Romanian rhapsody, a masterpiece of the genre, concluded a program that was itself the culmination of Ziua României (Romania's Day) at the New York World's Fair and the most fitting symbol of her outstanding contribution to world life.[31]

The concert did not go unnoticed by American music critics, so the American press would emphasize that Enescu's first Romanian rhapsody, a masterpiece of genius, concluded a program that was itself the culmination of Romania Day at the New York World's Fair.[32]

According to an article published in the newspaper *Cuvântul* at the end of 1938, the events dedicated to Romania in the Romanian House were intended to bring in authentic folk costumes, one hundred peasant dancers from the main regions of Romania and folk instrumentalists. The events dedicated to the Romanian musical week included in the organization plan a series of folk performances under the baton of Grigoraș Dinicu.[33]

In this context, the Romanian restaurant within *Casa Românească (The Romanian House)* also presented a relatively rich artistic program. Dinicu's orchestra and the Romanian songs performed by Maria Tănase aroused the visitors' interest in the exhibition. The artist Maria Tănase was selected to participate in the New York World's Fair, following an audience organized at *Hanul Ancuței (Ancuța's Inn)* in Bucharest.[34] However, it seems that, even if in the country her notoriety would increase as a result of this participation and the newspapers of the time declared her participation in the New York exhibition a success, it seems that, in reality, things were not quite like that,

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[31] *Universul* no. 133, Thursday 18 May 1939, 10. Telegrams from abroad. "Ziua României (Romania Day)" at the Romanian Pavilion at the exhibition in New York.

[32] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215. The newspaper Luce's Press Clipping Bureau, 157 Chambers Street, New York Clipping from New York, 12. 22. 2023

[33] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215, *Cuvântul*, December 29, 1938.

[34] Stejărel Olaru, *Maria Tănase: Artista Omul Legenda* (Bucharest: Corint Books, 2019), 66.

the American public being slightly skeptical of traditional Romanian music and the misunderstandings between the band members seems to have affected her musical performance.[35] A few years after this event, Maria Tănase confessed in a memoir:

> After a short time, I left the country without satisfying my contract with the Romanian state because of how they understood to present me in front of the American public, I did not find it honorable for the songs I sang.[36]

One of probably the most memorable episodes analyzed for a long time during the official opening of the Romanian Pavilion at the International Exhibition in New York was the meeting between sculptor Constantin Brâncuși and Maria Tănase. After long preparations for the inauguration of the Romanian Pavilion, even though he had not been officially invited, Brâncuși was in New York to inaugurate his exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. Therefore, Brâncuși arrived in New York in 1939 to exhibit his works, not in the Romanian pavilion, but in the *Art in Our Time* exhibition, organized on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, when the new building of the museum's inauguration took place.[37] The exhibition is also included in the events organized during the New York World's Fair. However, Brâncuși found himself in the same situation as in 1938 when, within the Venice *Biennale*, Romania inaugurated its pavilion bought through Nicolae Iorga's efforts, with an exhibition of the time's most vocal artists, where Brâncuși would not be received. More precisely, Brâncuși never had the opportunity to exhibit in the Romanian Pavilion in Venice but exhibited in the Central Pavilion of the Lagoon exhibition and later in other pavilions.[38]

In the case of the New York exhibition, following the invitation launched by architect Octav Doicescu, somewhat advised by Dimitrie Gusti, Brancusi finally agrees to attend the opening of the New York World's Fair but refused

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35 Ibid, 72.

36 Ibid.

37 "The Museum of Modern Art Library" Catalog, *Art in Our Time*, (USA, 1939).

38 Nicolae Iorga, *Sfaturi pe întunerec: conferințe la radio 1931–1940*, eds. Sanda and Valeriu Râpeanu, (Bucharest: Casa Radio, 2001), 66.

the feast in the Romanian pavilion in favor of the English pavilion because it is not adequately dressed.[39]

Recalling her encounter with Brâncuși, Maria Tănase wrote:

> I met Costache Brâncuși in New York [...] he asked me to sing to him, and so I would not see him cry anymore, he leaned his back against mine so I would not see his face anymore. I left a large pillow in place of my back so I would not wake him, kissed his hand, and left a letter on the table. I had an hour left, and I had to leave for the country.[40]

Regarding the Museum of Modern Art, the institution has consistently maintained its mission to bring contemporary art and its sources to the forefront, adapting to time changes. With over a hundred temporary exhibitions and an ever-evolving permanent collection, the museum managed to offer the public until 1939 a dynamic perspective on contemporary art. Generous contributions from private donors and support from the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations were crucial in ensuring the efficient operation and expansion of the museum's services.[41]

Furthermore, the exhibition *Art in Our Time* intended to present the works of contemporary artists alongside the works of exceptional artists of the last century. The exhibition aims to give an idea of the different types of art present in the museum and the trends in art of that period. As with twentieth-century painting, sculpture has also been contrasted with classical sculpture, from technical masters of more or less traditional forms to sculptors of the Cubist tradition to sculptors of half-abstract forms. Thus, Brâncuși's works *Bird in Space* (1919) and *The Miracle* (1938) were admired by the American public alongside sculptures by Despiau, Barlach, Laurent, Modigliani, Picasso, Matisse, Giacometti, or Duchamp.[42]

The 1939–1940 New York World's Fair was an event of great importance in the cultural and technological history of the twentieth century. Under the

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39 Petre Pandrea, *Brâncuși. Amintiri și exegeze* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1967), 104.
40 Stejărel, *Maria Tănase,* 244–5.
41 "The Museum of Modern Art Library" Catalog, 11–12.
42 Ibid, 315–6.

motto "Building the World of Tomorrow with the Tools of Today," this monumental exhibition brought together different nations, states, and cultures, providing a global platform for progress and innovation. Romania's participation, coordinated by the General Commissioner of the Romanian pavilion, Professor Dimitrie Gusti and the Secretary of the Washington Legation, Andrei Popovici, aimed to present Romanian achievements in various fields such as culture, art, science, and economy. The National Pavilion and the Romanian House were built to provide a complete picture of contemporary Romania, and the works of art exhibited highlighted the country's significant contributions to global evolution.

A special moment was the organization of the *Săptămâna muzicală românească (Romanian Music Week)*, during which composer George Enescu conducted the orchestras in New York and Philadelphia, demonstrating the excellence of Romanian music. At the same time, Maria Tănase brought an authentic note through the interpretation of Romanian folk songs and contributed to promoting traditional culture. The meeting between sculptor Constantin Brâncuși and Maria Tănase was a milestone in the history of the two, although they had only one meeting in New York, their admirers did not stop idealizing an impossible and ideal love story. Brâncuși, by exhibiting at the Museum of Modern Art, proved, once again, his genius and innovation in sculpture, being admired by art lovers around the world. Thus, Romania's participation in the New York World's Fair was a tribute to the country's creativity and significant contribution to global progress. This participation represented a significant effort and a considerable investment from Romania, and the results brought the country into the spotlight at an international level, contributing to the promotion of the country's culture and achievements in a global context, also being an excellent example of cultural diplomacy.

Illustrations



Fig. 1. The *Enesco* Program[43]

[43] A.M.A.E., Bucharest, Washington Fund, vol. 215.



Fig. 2. Suzana Doicescu, Constantin Brâncuși, Maria Tănase[44]

[44] https://octavdoicescu.blogspot.com/2012/10/expozitia-universala-new-york-1939.html.



Fig. 3. The Romanian Pavilion [45]

[45] Queens Public Library.



Fig. 4. Brâncuși at the *Art in Our Time* exhibition [46]

[46] https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2016/spelunker/exhibitions/207/#img15.

Literary and Visual Representations of the Other

Creating History. Hotels, or Spaces of Otherness in American War Correspondents' Journeys to and from Romania during the 1930s[*]

Carmen Andraș

American World War Two Correspondents in Romania

The 1930s represented, in reporter John Gunther's words, "the bubbling, blazing days of American foreign correspondence in Europe."[1] Journalism was not yet institutionalized, and American embassies did not have their own press or cultural attachés. That is why American war correspondents were on their own, despite the friendly relationships with American diplomats and other officials. Journalists were independent and did not feel like being used as "instruments of a national policy." They were "scavengers, buzzards, out to get the news, no matter whose wings got clipped." They had solid "personal points of view," which they "did not bother to dissemble."[2] The *Chicago Daily News*, which John Gunther represented at the Vienna headquarters[3] (Fig. 1), had brilliant correspondents all over the world, for example, Paul Mowrer in Paris, Negley Farson in London, Leigh White in Berlin, Leland Stowe, covering the outbreak of the war from Oslo to Moscow

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1 John Gunther, *A Fragment of Autobiography. The Fun of Writing the Inside Books* (NY and Evanston: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), 5.

2 Ibid.

3 Idem, *Inside Europe* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1938), ix-x.

and other distant places, or George Weller, covering the war in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. They also delivered war reports from Romania, and most of them met in Bucharest's Athénée Palace Hotel (Fig. 2–4). Other American papers were also represented by "giants," whose names were associated with the different capitals where they had their headquarters, for example, "Walter Duranty was Moscow; Raymond Swing was London; Jay Allen was Madrid; H. R. Knickerbocker and Dorothy Thompson were Berlin"[4] (Fig. 5). Furthermore, two other colleagues of Gunther, Marcel William Fodor, who represented Vienna and Berlin, and Dorothy Thompson, who was a Vienna correspondent and Central European bureau chief for the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and, after 1924, head of the Berlin bureau for the *New York Post,* also reported from Bucharest. The present study's direct sources are war reports, memoirs, and diaries published in book form and authored by American correspondents like John Gunther, Robert St. John, Leigh White, Robert Parker, Countess R. G. Waldeck, assigned to report from Bucharest by American journals. This study's most relevant secondary sources are authored by historian and diplomat Ernest H. Latham, Jr., "Byzantium's last blossom: Anglo-American Journalism in Bucharest, 1939–1941," in the volume titled *Timeless and Transitory. 20th Century Relations between Romania and the English-Speaking World*,[5] and historian Deborah Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial: the Reporters Who Took on a World at War*.[6]

This paper focuses on the heterotopian spaces of luxury hotels, where American World War Two correspondents met, worked in teams, and faced dramatic events in a mood of collegiality and interdependence. The subject has not been treated before. Due to the vast numbers of American war correspondents in Europe, I chose those who came to Bucharest from their headquarters in Vienna, Paris, or Budapest to the Balkans, guided by the

[4] See Idem, *A Fragment of Autobiography*, 6.

[5] Ernest H. Latham, Jr., *Timeless and Transitory. 20th Century Relations between Romania and the English-Speaking World* (Bucharest: Vremea, 2012), 116–29.

[6] Deborah Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial: the Reporters Who Took on a World at War* (New York: Random House, 2022).

developments of the military conflicts.[7] The starting point of my analysis is the presence of John Gunther, the journalist and writer who covered war with his colleagues from the Viennese Imperial Hotel (Fig. 6–8). In my interpretation, these notorious heterotopias were situated at the border of real and symbolic spaces, where traces of history blended with the present and sometimes overshadowed the constructive atmosphere of collegiality among reporters.

Creative Spaces or Heterotopias: Sharing Public Spaces and/or Historical Dramas

American correspondents' war reports from Europe are, at the same time, accounts of cultural travels in heterotopian spaces perceived simultaneously as alien and marked by war, yet familiar and lively. The authors scrutinized a geographically and politically divided Europe on the background of World War Two. Their reports are about sharing an alienated space, discovering and approaching its multiplicity and synchrony, which make it accessible from diverse perspectives. Heterotopias create bridges between the inner spaces of memory and the outer spaces of conflicts and traumas, safety and insecurity, normality and deviation, similarity and otherness. These spaces are different yet equal with each component. In this interpretation, journalists associated lost private spaces of their homes or hometowns (streets, shops, seating or walking areas, etc.) with foreign public spaces. This study analyses the hotels defined as heterotopian spaces, which accommodated not only people but also their dramas, stories, and dreams of a better world. Hotels are transient, heterogeneous living spaces.

They borrow elements of people's lives, time, and history because, in Foucault's description of space:

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[7] See for details Carmen Andraș, "Crossing the Borders of Cultures: The First Wave of American War Correspondents in Romania and the Transylvanian Case (1916 – Early 1930s)," in *Crossing Borders: Insights into the Cultural and Intellectual History of Transylvania (1848–1948)*, eds. Carmen Andraș, Cornel Sigmirean (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, Gatineau, Canada: Symphologic Publishing, 2016), 199–232.

> […] we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another. [8]

According to Foucault, public spaces express a "set of relations," for instance, those characterizing "the sites of transportation, streets, trains." A train is "an extraordinary bundle of relations," "something through which one goes," and "something by means of which one can go from one point to another, and then it is also something that goes by."[9] One can also define "sites of temporary relaxation," like "cafes, cinemas, beaches," and "the closed or semi-closed sites of rest," like "the house, the bedroom, the bed, et cetera," through their "network of relations."[10] Other spaces connect but also contradict all these sites as either utopias or real places:

> Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case, these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.[11]

By contrast, "real places" are "places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society." Foucault observed a third category of places, which are, in fact, "counter-sites," which are "outside of all places" and "absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about." In Foucauldian terms, they are called heterotopias in "contrast to utopias."[12]

Hotels are such heterotopian places. They can be described in-between home and public sites, idealistic sites of safety and leisure, and the real places in actual times of war and threat. In the case of the American World War Two correspondents, hotels can thus be described through the relations with their customers, synchronizing with their private and official life, original

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[8] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1986): (22–27) 23.

[9] Ibid, 23–24.

[10] Ibid, 24.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

background, and present status, with their need for safety and actual involvement in the war.

I use the terms place and space and their relationship in Michel de Certeau's interpretation in *The Practice of Everyday Life.* According to Certeau,

> A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place) […]. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programmes or contractual proximities […]. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a 'proper.' In short, space is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.[13]

By contrast, site is defined by *The Britannica Dictionary* as: "the place where something (such as a building) is, was, or will be located;" "a place where something important has happened" (for example, the site of the battle); "a place that is used for a particular activity" (an archaeological site).[14]

In conclusion, we refer to *place* when pointing out the position of a particular object, building, or person and to *space* when describing a living place, where people meet, interconnect, communicate, share information, and witness crucial events. It is a space where difference does not hinder interrelations. Under the specter of war, it was the space where war correspondents met, organized teamwork, and built long-lasting friendships. It was the dynamic space where they debated and created history while on the move. There, in those renowned hotels, history was alive and in progress.

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[13] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1984), 117.

[14] *The Britannica Dictionary*, Accessed July 24, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/site.

Under Hitler's Shadow: Slices of History in Grand Hotels

Heterotopias like hotels are social spaces teeming with history. They are linked to "slices in time," not always agreeable, especially in war settings. Their present moments can trigger flashes of memory. Thus, heterotopias can "open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies." In such instances, people can reach a kind of "absolute break with their traditional time." In contrast with museums and libraries, understood as "heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time" and "establishing a sort of general archive," intending to "enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes," hotels are not meant to create archives of events related to their past. Instead, they are intended to make people enjoy present moments. Nevertheless, "slices" of history can make their presence felt and can prefigure future events.[15]

Interwar and World War Two West European heterotopian spaces like the Vienna, Paris, or Berlin press headquarters were the starting points for the American correspondents' subsequent journalistic missions along the vectors of the war. Among the American journalists, the emblematic reporter and writer John Gunther left for Eastern Europe, Romania included, from the Vienna headquarters of the *Chicago Daily News*, where he worked from 1924 until 1935, when he was transferred to London. He quit the *Chicago Daily News* in September 1936 and returned to America. Then, in October 1937, accompanied by his wife, Frances Gunther, he set out for Asia. Thus, since the late 1930s, he dedicated his activity to his *Inside* series of political investigations all over the world:

> The origins of *Inside Europe* are the following: In the early 1930's I was Vienna correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, an admirable newspaper, with Central Europe and the Balkans as my territory. I stretched all the way from the Adriatic to the Golden Horn, and was responsible for nine countries (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Bulgaria,

[15] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 26.

> Greece and Turkey), all of which I attempted to visit intermittently. We had wings on our heels in those dulcet days, even if the Orient Express was slow.[16]

In her influential book on American war correspondents, historian Deborah Cohen outlined that John Gunther arrived in Europe in the early 1920s, like his friends, James Vincent (Jimmy) Sheean[17] and Dorothy Thompson,[18] "as young reporters, just as the dust of the Great War was settling:"

> Sent by their editors to Bucharest, Prague, and Vienna, they saw—more clearly than most—the practical failings of the peace treaty signed at Versailles in 1919. The new democracies created from the shards of defeated empires were frail things, their economies shattered, their politics riven. Lacking tidy ethnic frontiers, the states midwifed at the Paris Peace Conference proved no match for the nationalist passions incubating within their borders.[19]

American foreign correspondents "traveled steadily, met constantly, exchanged information, caroused, took in each other's washing, and, even when most fiercely competitive, were devoted friends."[20] Hotels were ideal meeting places, encouraging free communication, information exchange, political debates, and camaraderie. Hotel Imperial in Vienna was among the most welcoming social spaces. Until the summer of 1939, "the arguments had been short-lived and outweighed by their camaraderie," while "they'd seen each other coming and going from one trouble spot to another: nights together at the Hotel Imperial in Vienna."[21] During occasional gatherings, the reporters initially derided the news about the "strongmen" rising in Italy, Germany, and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Still, they soon realized that these caricatural figures were potential dictators:

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16 Gunther, *A Fragment of Autobiography*, 3.

17 James Vincent Sheean, reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune* during the Spanish Civil War, author of *Personal History* (1935), awarded the National Book Award for Biography.

18 First woman chief of an outstanding American international news bureau like that of Berlin, political journalist for the *New York Herald Tribune*. Her second husband was writer Sinclair Lewis.

19 Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*, xx.

20 Gunther, *A Fragment of Autobiography*, 6.

21 Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*, xxiii.

> Mussolini posturing under a steel helmet, on a horse, striding atop a cannon. Hitler strutting and bellowing and a whole battalion of little Hitlers in lockstep behind him. But it didn't take long before they realized how close these gangsters were to taking power. As Americans, they had imagined that people wanted freedom: that the whole thrust of human history, in fact, was toward liberty. But what if the leaders people freely chose were dictators rather than democrats?[22]

Sharing a dramatic history, public places like Hotel Imperial in Vienna and Hotel Adlon in Berlin (Fig. 9–11) were meeting places for American journalists. Situated on Unter den Linden, the main boulevard in the Mitte district, the Hotel Adlon Kempinski in Berlin is directly across the Teigarten and the Brandenburg Gate. It is located where Unter den Linden and Pariser Platz converge. It operated like a watchtower in the middle of significant buildings and establishments on the 1938 Third Reich map of Berlin, including Hitler's residence, the Ministry of Information, the Kaiserhof Hotel, and the Reich Chancellery.[23] If the urban geography of power had a flow, it was because the British Embassy was just three hundred yards away.[24] A few days following the end of World War II, the hotel structure entirely burned down. In 1961, the last intact wing was destroyed. The Adlon was soon a permanent component in the Pariser Platz restoration plans.

In the latter part of the 1930s, most American and British diplomats, businesspeople, and correspondents congregated at the Hotel Adlon bar in Berlin, much like at the Athénée Palace Hotel in Bucharest. Even though they knew there were microphones around, they were conversing discreetly over their coffee tables as if to keep their conversations secret. Among them, American war correspondent William Lawrence Shirer was one of the most notorious guests of the hotel bar. His history of Nazi Germany, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, has been read by millions and referenced in academic works for more than fifty years. Shirer also belonged to the CBS radio team.

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22 Ibid, xx.

23 See introductory maps in James MacManus, *Midnight in Berlin* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2017).

24 Ibid, 25.

Nevertheless, most of the Hotel Adlon's guests were top officials, spies, businessmen, and officers belonging to Hitler's entourage, who were seated at distant tables, their ears and eyes fixed on the outsiders.[25] The Adlon Hotel served as the model for the Berlin hotel in Greta Garbo's 1932 film *Grand Hotel*, produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and directed by Edmund Goulding. (Fig. 12)

Audacious reporters like Dorothy Thompson, John Gunther, or H. R. Knickerbocker (Knick)[26] interviewed future or actual dictators like Hitler, Mussolini, and those "little Hitlers," who "had managed to redirect the stream of history, forcing the tide of events into different channels."[27] Meanwhile, they met at temporary peaceful hotels and shared their impressions. For the reporters who met at Hotel Imperial in Vienna or Hotel Adlon in Berlin, the number and importance of the people they interviewed were an essential reference for their prestige.[28] Sometimes, on her journey to Ankara, Bucharest, or Belgrade, Dorothy Thompson was "appalled" by the "fantastic resignation of many of the statesmen she interviewed." Nevertheless, there was hope, seeing that "wherever the will to resist Hitler survived, the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt was a talisman of hope."[29]

After the outbreak of war, when they had to leave their headquarters in Vienna or Paris in haste, the American correspondents faced dangers, but they kept cultivating their collegiality. Thus, while the German army progressed in Europe, Dorothy Thompson's concern was for the "cherished friends of her European days," especially for Marcel Fodor, who fled from Vienna to Prague after the Anschluss. Luckily, he was rescued by James Vincent Sheean in a "breakneck drive only hours ahead of the advancing

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[25] Ibid, 18–20. See also Laurenz Demps, Carl-Ludwig Paeschke, *The Hotel Adlon* (Berlin: Nicolai Verlag, 2004).

[26] Foreign correspondent for the Philadelphia Public Ledger and Hearst's International News Service, awarded Pulitzer Prize in 1931 for series on Stalin's first Five-Year Plan. See Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*.

[27] Ibid, 136.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Marion K Sanders, *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time* (New York, Avon Books, 1974), 234.

German armies." Then, the Gunthers took care of him. He was brought with his family to America, installed provisionally at a farm, and later established in Chicago, "where Dorothy and John Gunther helped finance a chair for him as a lecturer at her old school, Lewis Institute, now part of the Illinois Institute of Technology."[30]

Gunther wrote his *Inside Europe* in 1935 and published it in the United States and Great Britain in early 1936. It was frequently revised and republished in 1937, 1938, and 1940, with necessary additions.[31] It was also banned in Germany during "the Hitler era." Meanwhile, in May 1936, a friend in Germany sent Gunther a copy of the official order stating that: "The book Inside Europe by John Gunther, published by Hamish Hamilton, has been confiscated and withdrawn from circulation."[32]

> The book begins with Hitler, then makes a tour around him. I have tried to note the impingement of Hitler's Germany on every European country, and to include an analysis of every important European crisis and situation. We visit, in a counterclockwise circle, France, Spain, Italy; make a detour upward to that dominant island, England; proceed through the deceased states of Central Europe and the battered survivors of the Balkans; finish the circle around Germany with what was once Poland; visit Scandinavia and the neutral states briefly; inspect what we have seen of Western Europe at Geneva; and emerge finally in the Soviet Union.[33]

Inside Europe was followed by *The High Cost of Hitler*, published in 1939, and consisted of broadcasts sent from various places of Europe to the National Broadcasting Company in the United States during the summer of 1938 and up to the outbreak of war.[34]

Dorothy Thompson's works were also banned in Germany during Hitler's dictatorship. Until then, at the Café Louvre in Vienna or in the bar at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin, Dorothy Thompson was "the center of every circle of reporters,

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30 Ibid, 253.
31 Gunther, *Inside Europe*, ix-x.
32 Idem, *A Fragment of Autobiography*, 19.
33 Idem, *Inside Europe*, xi.
34 See Idem, *The High Cost of Hitler* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1939).

arguing, laughing, telling stories, her pink cheeks flushed with good health, able to hold any amount of liquor." She even "commandeered planes and found cars where no one else could." When she needed a visa on her way to Central and Eastern Europe, "she forged one and adorned it with the red seal from a coffee can."[35]

Besides pleasant moments spent with her colleagues, traumatic experiences in Germany were also linked to those hotels that would become symbols of the Fascist regime. Thus, in 1931, Dorothy Thomson was invited by the Nazi Party to interview Hitler for *Cosmopolitan* magazine in his salon in the luxurious Kaiserhof Hotel.[36] It was the General Headquarters of the Nazi party before Hitler came to power. Dorothy Thompson extended the interview and published it with her comments in her famous book, *I Saw Hitler*,[37] which appeared before 1933 when Hitler was appointed German chancellor. "The interview was difficult because one cannot carry on a conversation with Adolf Hitler," she confessed in *Cosmopolitan*. "He speaks always as though he were addressing a mass meeting . . . a hysterical note creeps into his voice, which rises sometimes almost to a scream. He gives the impression of a man in a trance."[38] Thompson's severe criticism infuriated Hitler, "who personally ordered her to leave Nazi Germany" in 1934 for the "crime of blasphemy." She was the first American journalist expelled from Germany by the Nazi regime.[39] A former meeting place for international reporters, Hotel Adlon in Berlin became an ominous place after Hitler acceded to power. In the summer of 1934, Dorothy Thomson received at Hotel

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[35] Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*, 44.

[36] First "grand hotel" in Berlin, Kaiserhof Hotel was located next to the Reich Chancellery. On January 30, 1933, Joseph Goebbels, and other Nazi officials met in the Kaiserhof waiting for Hitler's appointment as Chancellor. Finally, returned to the hotel to inform them about his success. See, *DBpedia*, Accessed July 23, 2023, http://dbpedia.org.

[37] Dorothy Thompson, *I Saw Hitler* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932).

[38] "Dorothy Thompson," *Americans and the Holocaust*, Washington DC: *the Holocaust Memorial Museum*, 2023, Accessed July 24, 2023, https://exhibitions.ushmm.org/americans-and-the-holocaust/personal-story/dorothy-thompson.

[39] See Peter Carlson, "American Journalist Dorothy Thompson Underestimates Hitler," *Historynet*, Accessed July 25, 2023, https://www.historynet.com/encounter-dorothy-thompson-underestimates-hitler/.

Adlon the visit from the state secret police: "The policeman handed her an order commanding her to leave Germany within 48 hours. It was Hitler's first expulsion of a foreign reporter, and it made front-page news around the world." Again, as a sign of collegiality, "Nearly the entire corps of American and British correspondents went to the railroad station to see her off," the *New York Times* reported. "They gave her a bunch of American Beauty roses as a token of their affection and esteem."[40]

John Gunther's time spent in Vienna in public spaces fell into a "routine:"

> Most mornings he met Dorothy Thompson's old friend Marcel Fodor at the Hotel Imperial on the Kärntner Ring […]. At the café on the ground floor, the jewel merchants shared the back room with the gamblers and the musicians. A smattering of turpentine and flax brokers colonized the front. Reporters took the low-ceilinged, paneled room facing the street. In the giant mirror that filled its far wall, you could see who was coming and going: former Ottoman potentates and Montenegrin bandits, schemers, gunrunners, the Outs conniving against the status quo. There was an aroma of conspiracy about the place; it was said that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand had been plotted there. A white-gloved waiter oversaw the wooden cupboard in which sixteen Austrian newspapers and sixty-odd foreign papers hung on delivering acres of lively copy. Now John's articles came accompanied by his photo: a good-looking young man with quizzical eyes.[41]

Nowadays, with its "red carpets and Royal Staircase, ornate marble, hand-carved statues, and massive crystal chandeliers, the hotel epitomizes nineteenth-century Viennese elegance and opulence."[42] Unfortunately, the most frequently recollected "slices" of Hotel Imperial's history are related to Hitler's progress toward dictatorship. His first contact with the hotel goes back to 1908 when he was eighteen and had moved to Vienna hoping to be accepted to the Academy of Fine Arts. Yet, he performed so poorly that he

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40 Ibid.

41 Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*, 124–125.

42 Rhonda Spivak, "Editor's Report from the Imperial Hotel-Where Hitler Stayed When in Vienna after the Anschluss," *Winnipeg Jewish Review*, October 14, 2014, https://www.winnipegjewishreview.com/article_detail.cfm?id=4446&sec=5.

did not pass the entrance examination. Hitler did not get a regular job but worked at the Hotel Imperial as a day laborer. Humiliated by his poor condition, he promised to return to the Hotel Imperial. He "dreamed of walking on that red carpet under the chandeliers, making himself at home amid the grandeur."[43] Thus, after the Anschluss, Hitler gloriously returned to the Imperial Hotel on the afternoon of 14 March 1938. The following morning, accompanied by Joseph Goebbels, Hitler saluted the crowds from the hotel balcony and proclaimed the Anschluss, the annexation of Austria into the German Reich. He came back as a privileged guest of the hotel, with his elegant suite on the first floor, where Eva Braun had the room next to his:[44]

> On the afternoon of March 14, 1938, the Führer's Mercedes-Benz convertible glided through the streets of Vienna. Hitler didn't set up his headquarters in the Chancellery. Instead, he took a first-floor suite at the Hotel Imperial, up a flight of stairs from the café where the correspondents had once gathered […]. Where once he hadn't dared even to press his nose to the glass, now his secretaries were unloading suitcases and his toughs sent the hotel's other guests packing. At the reception desk, bouquets of costly orchids, white lilies, and roses piled up, tributes from his grateful Austrian subjects. 'I waited for this day and tonight I am here,' he told his entourage. The Hotel Imperial's balconies were draped in Nazi banners decorated with the heraldic eagle, in red, white, and black. Outside, ecstatic crowds—hundreds of thousands of people—cheered the Führer from the Ringstrasse. The mood was spontaneous, exultant. 'Not a shot was fired, it was a war of flowers,' was the way that Franz von Papen[45] would describe the Anschluss.[46]

Since 1945, the Hotel Imperial's "Hitler balcony" has been closed to the public. Since 2018, with the opening of the House of Austrian History, Vienna's contemporary history museum, the balcony was again at the attention of

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[43] Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*, 280.

[44] See *The Hitler Pages. Historical Hitler Sites*, Accessed July 23, 2023, http://www.hitlerpages.com/pagina26a.html.

[45] Chancellor of Germany in 1932, and then vice-chancellor under Adolf Hitler from 1933 to 1934.

[46] Cohen, *Last Call at the Hotel Imperial*, 280–281.

Austrian historians. They decided that the balcony, "an obvious symbol of Nazi rule in Vienna," should be publicly accessible again.[47]

Owing to the clusters of interhuman relations they hosted,[48] public places like the hotels in the hotspots of World War Two incorporated different sites belonging to distinct slices of time, which could harmonize or reverse each other in a heterotopian space. This space is equal to each of its constituent sites yet dissimilar as a whole. Hotels thus become authentic crucibles of history.

Bucharest's Athénée Palace Hotel. Different Spaces in a Single Real Place

Heterotopia is "capable of juxtaposing several spaces in a single real place, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."[49] Nevertheless, heterotopian spaces, like hotels, encompass "blind spots," spatial or social fractures, or unplanned activities.[50] Different sites and moments can intersect through these spatial, temporal, or social breaches in a concrete place like the hotel. Correspondingly, the trajectory of the respective space's history is nonlinear, unexpected, accidental, and sinuous.

Athénée Palace differed from the Western hotels described above, for Bucharest had an intermediate Eastern-Western character. Yet, it was similar to them for its façade of ordinary life in luxury and relaxation. Accordingly, Pearl Kennedy Roberts, an American correspondent of *The New Outlook,* categorized it in 1926 as "the Ritz of Bucharest," which was "French Renaissance" "in decorations and furnishings." Furthermore, "the service is excellent, especially if one has at least a working knowledge of the French or Rumanian language, and the cuisine of its French restaurant unexcelled."

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[47] Liam Hoare, "Should Vienna's 'Hitler Balcony' Be Opened to the Public?" *Moment*, Accessed July 24, 2023, https://momentmag.com/hitler-balcony/

[48] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 23.

[49] Ibid. 25.

[50] Michiel Dehaene, Lieven De Cauter, eds, *Heterotopia and the City. Public Space in a Postcivil Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 5.

The journalist concluded that there was "little difference between the accommodation received at the Athenee Palace and any other first-class European hotel:"

> The Athenee Palace has been redecorated and refurnished throughout during the past two years, and it is very grand. Its management means to see that it shall remain grand, and they are extremely fussy in their care of the over-stuffed and superlatively decorated lounge on the first floor.[51]

In his *Afterword* to the Romanian edition of R. G. Waldeck's *Athénée Palace* (Fig. 11), Ernest H. Latham Jr. stated that after the fall of Paris and Great Britain's withdrawal from continental Europe, Bucharest persevered among the few neutral capitals. American and British correspondents could still send dispatches from Bucharest to their countries in relatively safe conditions. Until December 1941, when the United States entered the war, American foreign correspondents had more freedom of movement despite censorship imposed by their publications and by different European countries.[52] Foreign journalists, secret services, writers, officers, diplomats, wealthy and impoverished, of all possible origin and nationality, met at the Athénée Palace, Bucharest's Tower of Babel.

In this respect, Robert D. Kaplan observed in his *Balkan Ghosts* that Athénée Palace,

> […] was the only hotel in war- affected Europe where Nazi and Allied officials slept under the same roof, where American and British journalists could engage uniformed SS officers over drinks. But it was the Romanians themselves who provided the main attraction, enthusiastically accepting the new fascist order while thoroughly corrupting it in a way that softened its effects.[53]

Ernest H. Latham and Robert D. Kaplan referred primarily to Countess Rosie Waldeck, a fascinating character who dedicated a book to her experience

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[51] Pearl Kennedy Roberts, "The Queen's Home Town," *The New Outlook*, Vol. 144, No. 10, November 3, 1926, 304 (304–306).

[52] Latham, Jr., "Postfață," in R. G. Waldeck, *Athenée Palace*, trans. Ileana Sturdza (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2000), (306–46) 334–5; See Idem, "Byzantium's Last Blossom."

[53] Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts. A Journey Through History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 81.

at the Athénée Palace Hotel, making it notorious worldwide.[54] Born Rosie Goldschmidt, daughter of a banker, she came from a German family of Jewish origin. In 1920, she obtained a doctorate in sociology from the University of Heidelberg, where she studied under Alfred Weber's supervision. In the 1930s, she visited the United States and became an American citizen. She returned to Europe and met her future third husband, the Hungarian Count de Waldeck. She was in Bucharest from June 1940 to January 1941 as a correspondent for *Newsweek*. In the United States, Rosie Waldeck worked as a research assistant to Dorothy Thompson, who was still head of the Berlin bureau for the *New York Post* in the early 1930s and reported later from Bucharest, more precisely from the Athénée Palace. Dorothy Thompson's husband, Sinclair (Red) Lewis, called Rosie Waldeck "Graefenberg-Ullstein-Waldeck Rosie lady" because she "had had so many husbands and such a murky career." She "worked her way up the German social ranks through her marriages to a gynecologist, to the publishing magnate Franz Ullstein," and finally to an "'invisible' count," whose title permitted her to travel around Nazi Germany "with mystifying ease:"

> In the late 1930s Rosie published her memoirs and took New York by storm, acting as her own press agent and building her celebrity on what appeared to be sheer nerve. It was never proved that she was a foreign agent, as many believed, but it was soon discovered that she was an intriguer, and when Dorothy found out that she was also under investigation by the United States government, she was quickly shown the door.[55]

In a declassified *Memorandum* of the Central Intelligence Agency (former OSS), a person who gained Rosie Waldeck's trust reported that she "served for a while as research assistant to Dorothy Thompson." The report contained information meant to demonstrate Countess Waldeck's close connections with Nazi officers and other influent characters, pointing out that she worked for their benefit. She made several trips to Germany and

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[54] Rosie G. Waldeck, *Athene Palace Bucharest. Hitler's "New Order" Comes to Rumania* (London: Constable, 1943).

[55] Peter Kurth, *American Cassandra: the life of Dorothy Thompson* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990), 303.

> […] in 1941 was in Bucharest, Rumania, where she gathered material for her book, Athene Palace, which reportedly deals with Nazi espionage and intrigue in the Balkans. While it was believed that she received some royalties from this book, the Countess reportedly found it convenient to live at the Hotel Gladstone, 114–122 East 52 Street, New York City, as she did not always have to pay her bill there on time. It was reported that the Gladstone was a center for Germans, and to have been, at one time or another, a meeting place for the Gestapo.[56]

The biographies of these two celebrated American women correspondents, Dorothy Thompson and Rosie Waldeck, both connected to Athénée Palace, included the Romanian hotel in the network of famous Western grand hotels, from Dorothy Thompson's Hotel Imperial in Vienna and Hotel Adlon in Berlin to Athénée Palace Hotel in Bucharest, where both stayed.

Countess Waldeck's integrity is irrelevant in this context. Her strained relations with her colleagues in Athénée Palace, Robert St. John, Leigh White, or Ray Brock, who accused her of serving the German espionage, were evident.[57] In fact, despite suspicions from American services and fellow journalists, she had broad access to information sources, offering one of the most complex and realistic analyses of this international news and gossip hub within Athénée Palace. This is relevant for the present study due to her description of the hotel's multifaceted space. The day Paris fell, in the summer of 1940, she contemplated the view from the window of her room at the Athénée Palace Hotel (Athene Palace in her spelling[58]). Her first impression was of the enchanted

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[56] "Memorandum," *Subject: (Countess) Rosie Waldeck, Central Intelligence Agency*, Cia.gov/DOC_0000389121, Released June 2000, Accessed July 24, 2023, https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000389121.pdf.

[57] See Latham, Jr., "Postfață," where the author expresses his confidence in Countess Waldeck's honesty, considering the lack of incriminating evidence; See for British and American intelligence operations during World War Two which targeted Romania, Dennis Deletant, *British Clandestine Activities in Romania during the Second World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). See also Sorin Aparaschivei, *Spionajul american în România: 1944–1948* (Bucharest: Militară, 2013).

[58] Countess Waldeck's motivation explained her choice: "to go on record as being aware that the name of Bucharest's Grand Hotel is really spelled Athenee Palace and has been shorn of one 'e' and of accents for no other reasons than simplicity and readability." Waldeck, *Athene Palace*, vi.

square surrounding her watchtower, the "Piata Atheneului," an overlapping of "Near East" atmosphere and Western cultural, political, social, and historical institutions, with their respective American buildings: the White House, the Waldorf Astoria, Carnegie Hall, Colony Restaurant, and the Lincoln Memorial. Athenée Palace was a heterotopian place in "the heart" of the city, different sites of artistic, intellectual, political, and moral life. [59]

The author introduced the Romanian hotel into the French connection of Grand Luxury Hotels, the Maurice, and the Ritz, and consequently, the European fashionable modern background. It had been built between 1912 and 1914 and modernized between 1935 and 1937 when it had been "scraped clean of its caryatides and turrets and its façade streamlined into white smoothness with all the shutters painted a brilliant blue:"

> The entrance hall, too, with its modernistic desk and gleaming show-cases of glass and aluminum, had the same forcibly functional look. Even in the mirrored green saloon with its low sofas and tables, a modern decorator had tried his hand; but for the rest you did not find much streamlining inside the hotel. You were apt to live in a pseudo-Louis XV room hung with blue brocades, and the restaurant was red and gold and white in the manner of the French restaurants of the second Empire. In the large darkish lobby where you spent most of your days, rows of yellow marble pillars formed three naves as in a church.[60]

Countess Waldeck broadened the map of European grand hotels, where she included the Romanian hotel for its elegance, refinement, and urbanity, which sometimes, in her opinion, exceeded them in quality. At the time of her arrival in Bucharest, Athénée Palace was "the last cosmopolitan stage on which post-world-war Europe and the new-order Europe made a joint appearance:"

> There was, of course, the Hotel Aviso in Lisbon, Portugal, but there the old society, harried and terrified, just waited around for boats to America. There still was the Serbsky Kral in Belgrade, Jugoslavia, where the two orders mingled, but here the setting as well as the cast lacked glamour. In the Bregues in Geneva

[59] Waldeck, *Athene Palace*, 3.
[60] Ibid, 4.

> or the Dunapalato in Budapest, there was no i' play on at all. Only at the Athene Palace, a glamorous setting in the traditional style of European Grand Hotels, the cast of post-world-war Europe and the cast of the new order, all-star casts both, still had equal billing and the play itself was full of suspense.[61]

Robert Kaplan considered that in the 1940s, Athénée Palace was "symbolic of history as anticlimax." It reflected the Romanians' wish for "an escape from history." When Countess Waldeck lived there, it was "nothing less than a museum of twentieth-century Romanian intrigue." It also was among the few places where "Nazi officers, American newspapermen, diplomats, and spies from the West, the Axis powers, and the Soviet Union" could sit at the same tables and share news or gossip.[62]

In the lobby of Athene Palace, Countess Waldeck was a witness and participant to this mimicry of choices in the "forum of the Balkans," where "old post-world-war Europe and new-order Europe were acting out their parts in this drama." It was an "epic setting" for a Balkan vaudeville, where "secrets of the alcove, secrets of court, secrets of diplomatic pouches were whispered into ears that miraculously turned into microphones:"

> Here opportunities were made and destroyed; here stories were invented and from here spread like epidemics; here the skeletons of all the Balkan closets were promenaded and laughed at, and gossip belittled the honour of every politician and the virtue of every woman. Nobody minded it, not even the victims. This summer there were in the Athene Palace spies of every Intelligence Service in the world; the diplomats and military attaches of great and little powers; British and French oil men on their way out, and German and Italian oil men on their way in; Gestapo agents and Ovra agents and OGPU agents, or men who were at least said to be agents; amiable Gauleiters and hard-headed economic experts; distinguished Rumanian appeasers and the mink-clad German and Austrian beauties who were paid to keep them happy; the mink-clad Rumanian beauties who were paid by Urdareanu to make the Italian and German ministers talk and who were also paid by the German and Italian ministers to make Urdareanu talk."[63]

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[61] Ibid, 25.

[62] Kaplan, *In Europe's Shadow. Two Cold Wars and a Thirty-Year Journey Through Romania and Beyond* (New York: Random House, 2016), 45.

[63] Waldeck, *Athene Palace*, 26.

Even if she did not pay much attention to her American fellow correspondents, they were still there despite the evolution of things to Germany's advantage and taking things quite seriously. At that time, only the American newspapers had correspondents in Bucharest. They "had floated to Rumania from Finland, Norway, and Holland on the chance that the war would come to the Balkans."[64] Others, like Gunther, Scott Mowrer, or St. John, arrived from Vienna, Berlin, and Paris to cover war in the Balkans. In the spirit of American journalism, beyond the burlesque of the Athénée Palace drama, Rosie Waldeck offered well-documented analyses of historical events like the German invasion of France in 1940; the Vienna Award, and the partition of Transylvania in August 1940; the rise of the far-right National Legionary State and Antonescu's military dictatorship, September 1940 – January 1941; Romania joining the Axis Powers in November 1940 and the earthquake in October 1940, followed by the Legionnaire Rebellion. Occasionally, Countess Waldeck left the comfort and safety of her hotel to feel the pulse of real history in Romania. She would meet her American colleagues in the Athénée Palace lobby, in the streets of Bucharest, or during official journeys in Romania. Between 1940 and 1941, she made history alongside Robert St. John, Robert Parker, Cyrus Leo Sulzberger, Ray Brock, Walter Duranty, and Leland Stowe.

Athénée Palace in War-Time: Creating and Recording History

While staying at Athénée Palace, American war correspondents lived and recorded history simultaneously. The grand hotel was both their home and unofficial headquarters. Associated Press correspondent in Bucharest, Robert St. John argued:

> There were seldom less than fifty correspondents housed in the Athénée Palace at any one time. They came and went, roving the Balkans in search of news, always hoping to be in the right place at the right time, always trying to outguess each other as to where the next coup d'état, revolution, bombing,

[64] Ibid, 41.

sudden declaration of war, sabotage incident, or entrance of the Nazis would take place.[65]

St. John mentioned five Pulitzer prizewinners among his fellow American journalists who were "drifting in and out of Bucharest in those days:" Walter Duranty, a *New York Times* correspondent[66] , and Leland Stowe, reporting for *Chicago Daily News*[67] and the *New York Post* (in Paris*),* were already Pulitzer prize recipients in the 1930s.[68] St. John also remarked the presence of other "future Pulitzers" in Bucharest: Daniel De Luce,[69] an American journalist for the *Associated Press* from 1929 to 1976, who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1944 and "dropped down occasionally from Budapest," Edmund Stevens (for the *Christian Science Monitor*), a prizewinner in 1950,[70] George Weller (for the *Chicago Daily News*), a recipient of a 1943 Pulitzer Prize and a 1954 George Polk Award,[71] and Cyrus Leo Sulzberger (*New York Times*), Pulitzer Prize winner in 1951.[72]

St. John appreciated the cosmopolite ambiance of the hotel, where "the desk clerk spoke English, as well as Rumanian, French, German, Serbo-Croat,

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65 Robert St. John, *Foreign Correspondent* (New York: Doubleday & Co, 1957), 89.

66 Walter Duranty became a controversial character. The "apologist" of Stalin and of the Bolshevik Revolution, who lived for 13 years in Russia, misled his colleagues to cover Stalin's crimes. Thus, "during the great Ukrainian famine of the early 1930s, which Stalin engineered to crush millions of peasants who resisted his policies, Duranty dismissed other correspondents' reports of mass starvation and, though secretly aware of the full scale of the horror, effectively reinforced the official cover-up of one of history's greatest man-made disasters." See S.J. Taylor, *Stalin's Apologist. Walter Duranty: The New York Times's Man in Moscow* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), second cover.

67 Leland Stowe, *No Other Way to Freedom* (London: Faber and Faber LTD, 1941).

68 St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 80.

69 Daniel De Luce reported on the trials at Nuremberg following World War Two. His wife, Alma De Luce, wife of was also Associated Press foreign correspondent.

70 Edmund Stevens was an American Communist who contributed to the Bolshevik cause as a translator and writer for the Publishing Cooperative of Foreign Workers in the Soviet Union. See Cheryl Heckler, *An Accidental Journalist. The Adventures of Edmund Stevens, 1934–1945* (Columbus and London: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 1.

71 See Anthony Weller, ed., *Weller's War. A Legendary Foreign Correspondent's Saga of World War II on Five Continents. George Weller* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2009), 1.

72 C[yrus] L[eo] Sulzberger, *A Long Row of Candles. Memoirs, Diaries 1934–1954* (London: Macdonald, 1969).

Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Russian."[73] It was comparable "to the average good hotel in any large American city" and "as luxurious as a dream" compared to other Balkans hotels.[74] The hotel could accommodate even a demanding journalist like Dorothy Thompson:

> […] then still the wife of Sinclair Lewis. She wrote a column, I knew, for the *New York Herald Tribune*; Dorothy Thompson, whom *Time* once called 'the No. 1 U.S. breast-beater' and about whom Sir Wilmot Lewis, the veteran Welsh war correspondent, had once said: 'She has discovered the secret of perpetual emotion!'[75]

St. John also enumerated among Anglo-American journalists, who visited the Athénée Palace, American correspondents like John Scott (editor of *Time* magazine), who had just arrived from Moscow, where his Siberian wife was waiting for gifts; Spencer Williams (*Columbia Broadcasting System,* CBS*)*, also coming from Russia; Sonia Tamara (the New York *Herald Tribune*), Betty Wason (CBS), Sam Brewer (Chicago *Tribune* and *New York Times*), William L. White and three "man-wife teams:" Rosamond and Richard Mowrer (Chicago *Daily News*), Maria Cruz and Leigh White (Chicago *Daily News*), Lea and Winston Burdett (CBS Radio Network during World War Two and later for CBS television news).[76]

These soldiers of the press fought with words, the only weapons they could use efficiently. As many histories as reporters at Athénée Palace. As many perspectives as political and military history architects met there. Some reported on history, others made history themselves. In those days of war, some guests at Athénée Palace resisted history, while others led it to disaster. For the time being, power was overcoming resistance. This struggle was also visible at the hotel. More familiar with Hotel Imperial in Vienna than Bucharest's hotel, John Gunther described a place corresponding to Athénée Palace, although he did not name it. Interested mainly in Romania's political life

[73] St. John, *Foreign Correspondent*, 87.
[74] Ibid, 88.
[75] Ibid, 96.
[76] Ibid, 96–98.

and characters, Gunther equated the place with an Iron Guard's meeting place:

> Not more than two blocks from the town palace where Carol lives is a hotel which, to put it mildly, expresses much of the spirit of Bucharest, amorously and politically. In this hotel, almost every afternoon, two or three young men, well dressed and multilingual, sit and sip Turkish coffee and talk about revolution. They are members of the Iron Guard […]. Its program was a fanatic, obstreperous sub-Fascism on a strong nationalist and anti-Semitic basis. Its members trooped through the countryside, wore white costumes, carried burning crosses, impressed the ignorant peasantry, aroused the students in the towns.[77]

Robert Parker, the Associate Press correspondent and chief of the Budapest office, associated Bucharest's hotel with the headquarters of Hitler's trade emissary, Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat. Through this political act of submission, "Rumania faced conversion from an independent nation to a German colony in Europe, for German demands would wipe out practically all commerce between Rumania and other nations."[78] Referring to this political event, in April 1939, *Time* magazine related the seriousness of this so-called trade treaty signed by the Kingdom of Romania with the Third Reich under the "heavy pressure of circumstances," which, in fact, "converted Rumania from an independent nation to a German dependency." The reporter considered that "in no instance of modern times has one State made such humiliating, far-reaching economic concessions to another as Rumania's King Carol II made in Bucharest last week to Dr. Helmuth Wohlthat…"[79]

Parker was very critical of the Germans' defying attitude, although they were guests of a cosmopolitan hotel, where people were still respecting each other, at least in appearance:

> The Germans were confident. I found Dr. Wohlthat and his staff spending long hours in the bar of the Athénée Palace Hotel. Only occasionally did Wohlthat bother to call the Royal Palace to present some new re-quest which

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[77] Gunther, *Inside Europe*, 446.

[78] Robert Parker, *Headquarters Budapest* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Reinhart, 1944), 67.

[79] "Foreign News: Killing," *Time*, April 3, 1939, Accessed July 26, 2023, https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0, 33009, 771596–1, 00.html.

> occurred to him over an unceasing round of champagne cocktails. The problem was dumped in the laps of Carol and his cabinet. They could take it or leave it […]. All afternoon and evening the meetings continued at the palace. Dr. Wohlthat and his group continued drinking champagne cocktails at the Athénée Palace Hotel. Across from Wohlthat sat half a dozen French and English newspapermen. They knew that, through some freak of acoustics, whispers could be heard quite plainly at the far ends of the room. But so did Hitler's traveling sales-man. Wohlthat discussed nothing but the weather and the Bucharest night-club girls, grinning broadly in the direction of the disappointed eavesdroppers.[80]

Robert Parker situated Athénée Palace on an imaginary map somewhere between the Balkans and Hollywood. Nothing was as it seemed. In the hotel's lobby, a person who looked like "an Athens tobacco merchant" was "a member of British Intelligence." A "dark-eyed, pretty little woman sitting at the bar, surrounded by half a dozen admiring young men," who was wearing "an ermine coat and dazzling gowns from an apparently inexhaustible ward-robe," would soon vanish to "report to the Deuxième Bureau in Paris."[81] "The buzz of conversation" was "a strange mixture of Italian, French, guttural German, flat Arkansas American, precise Oxford English." Here, "a famous linguist once lost a bet" because "he claimed he could understand all the languages being spoken there. His opponent found a Cherokee Indian in the bar."[82]

Although the Ambassador had been selected as "German army headquarters," *Chicago Daily News* reporter Leigh White observed, while the Athénée was "reserved for diplomats and foreigners," numerous officers refused to move to the Ambassador even when there were evident signs of a major earthquake in October 1940:

> The Athénée's Franco-Turkish cuisine, and its ample stocks of French wines and liqueurs and Scotch whiskies, were far more appealing to the *Oberkommando*'s tastes than the prosaic fare at the Ambassador, where the management was German.[83]

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[80] Parker, *Headquarters Budapest*, 68–70.
[81] Ibid, 70.
[82] Ibid. 71.
[83] Leigh White, *The Long Balkan Night* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 128.

Thus, Athenée Palace was still living at the surface of its cosmopolite destiny until war reached Bucharest on 23 November 1940, when Romania joined the Axis, culminating with the end of Romanian-American diplomatic relations on 12 December 1941, when Romania declared war on the United States, and the remaining journalists had to escape. The Romanian Grand Hotel stored slices of history, keeping present events alongside distant recollections in its memory. It lived through its guests' experiences, states of mind, and personal remembrances. It reflected the atmosphere of collegiality reigning in the large family of Anglo-American war correspondents. However, it also echoed the still suppressed conflictual relations between Allies representatives and the Nazis.

Conclusion

Heterotopian spaces like hotels are described as in-betweenness, liminality, or transitionality. They are different and yet similar to the familiar spaces they stand for. Nonetheless, they miraculously incorporate notions of private and public, familiar and foreign, here and there, in a distant, strange, walled space. They instantaneously embody memory and history. They are situated in-between perceptions of comfortable accommodation and military encampment in a time of war and psychological stress. The present study analyses the intermediality of heterotopian spaces on an imaginary map connecting West European Grand Hotels in Vienna and Berlin with Bucharest's Athénée Palace, following the American war correspondents' journeys from one press headquarters to another. They imbued these hotels with enthusiasm, collegiality, determination, and hatred of war.

Illustrations

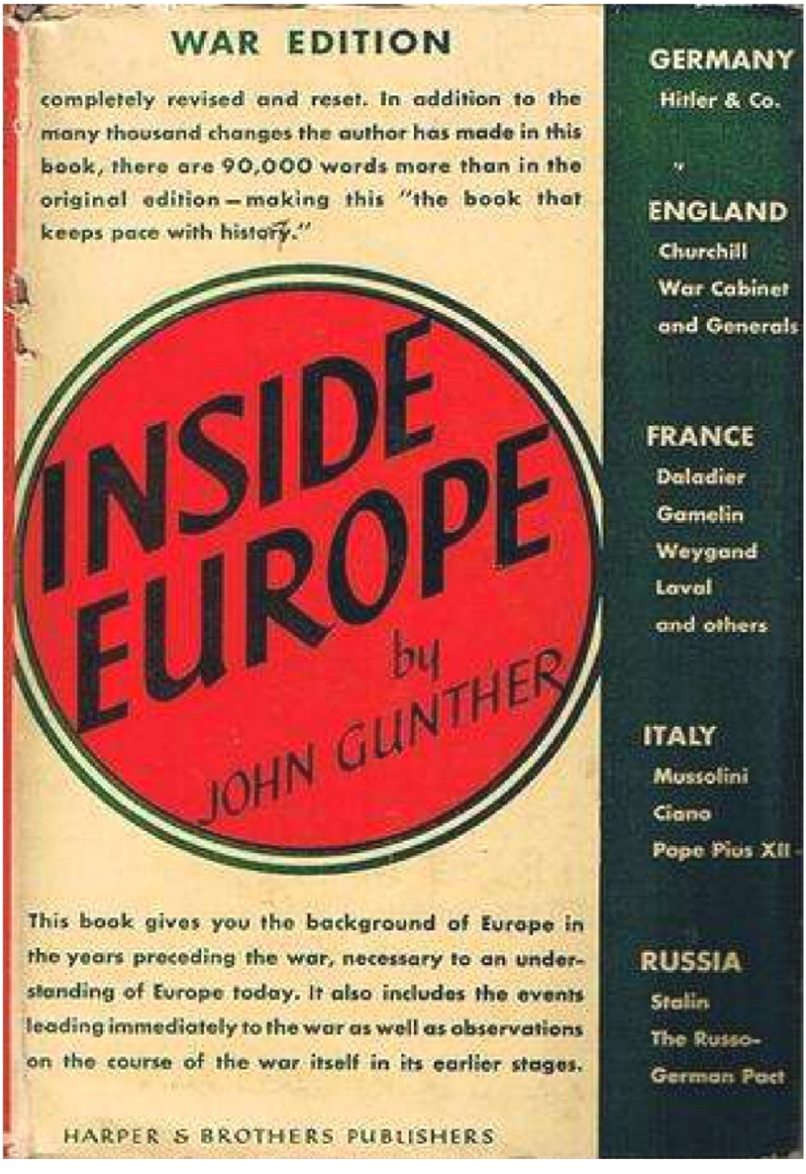


Fig. 1. Cover of Gunther's *Inside Europe*, 1940 [84]

[84] "Inside Europe: 1940 War Edition," *AbeBooks*, https://www.abebooks.com/signed/Europe-1940-Edition-Gunther-John-Harper/31435059148/bd.



Fig. 2. Athénée-Palace Hotel, the best in Bucharest.
Advertisement in the official Bucharest tourist guide, 1934[85]

[85] "Carol II" Foundation for Literature and Art, ed., *București. Ghid oficial cu 20 hărți pentru orientare* (Bucharest: Imprimeria Fundației Culturale Regale, 1934), n.p.



Fig. 3. Athénée Palace lobby, 2014. Public Domain



Fig. 4. Athénée Palace, Le Diplomate Hall[86]

[86] Intercontinental Athenee Palace Bucharest, *Hotel Mix*. https://athenee-palace-hilton-bucharest.hotelmix.ro.



Fig. 5. Dorothy Thompson, 1930. Public domain



Fig. 6. Hotel Imperial, Vienna, 2019. Public Domain



Fig. 7. Kärntner Ring 16, Hotel Imperial, Vienna, 1936. Public Domain



Fig. 8. Hotel Imperial, Vienna, Grand Staircase, 2007. Public Domain



Fig. 9. The famous Hotel Adlon near the Brandenburg Gate is seen here decorated for Berlin's 700th anniversary celebration in 1937. Period postcard [87]



Fig. 10. Aerial view of Unter den Linden, Hotel Adlon at the center, October 1931. Public Domain [88]

[87] https://www.thirdreichruins.com/berlin.htm



Fig. 11. Foreign Press Ball at the Adlon, c. 1930s. Public Domain[89]



Fig. 12. *Grand Hotel* with Greta Garbo and John Barrymore. 1932. Movie Poster

[88] https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Hotel_Adlon#Media/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_146–1998–010–21,_Berlin,_Pariser_Platz,_Luftaufnahme.jpg.

[89] https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Hotel_Adlon#Media/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_102–18003,_Berlin,_Hotel_Adlon,_Ball_der_Auslandspresse.jpg.



Fig. 13. The original front cover
of R.G. Waldeck's *Athene Palace,* 1943

Literary and Imagological Exchanges through Translation. Links Between Romania and the USA in the Period Between the Two World Wars

Andi Sâsâiac

Introduction

The interwar period represents a turning point in what concerns the visibility and attention that Romania received from the West. According to Latham Jr., in the years following World War One, Romania remained a subject of interest for the English-speaking world because of its war debts and because it was a member of the Little Entente (Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia).[1] The cultural and political life of Romania and its relations with Western countries took a rather paradoxical turn after the accomplishment of the long-standing ideal of Romanian unity in 1918. On the one hand, Romania started to develop its cultural relations with the West significantly, while the newly established Romanian territory received greater attention. Romanian intellectuals also became much more interested in the English and American cultures. Mention should be made, for instance, of the setting up of the English departments at the Universities of Iași (1925) and Bucharest (1936), of the "Friends of the United States of America" Cultural Society (1926) – a replica of "The Society of Friends of Roumania" which had been established six years before in New York by William Nelson Cromwell. Romanian intellectuals visited the United States and wrote about their experiences during that time, introducing American society to the Romanian readership. Yet, as Deletant observes, the average British newspaper reader from the thirties

[1] Ernest H. Latham Jr., *Timeless and Transitory: 20th Century Relations Between Romania and the English-Speaking World* (Bucharest: Vremea, 2012), 25.

knew two things about Romania – one was oil, and the other was the controversial Mme Lupescu,[2] the mistress and later wife of King Carol II. We can legitimately presume that the knowledge of the average American was even more reduced, therefore these readers had to rely on (mainly British) travel writers, such as Sacheverell Sitwell, whose works were, at times, reviewed in American periodicals and available to the American public. Ob*v*iously, by that time, the travel account written by James Oscar Noyes (1858) had already been published in New York.[3] The young American doctor who served in the Ottoman Army during the Crimean War dedicated to the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia 182 out of a total of 520 pages of his "war tourism" account *Roumania: The Border Land of the Christian and of the Turk, Comprising Adventures of the Travel in Eastern Europe and Western Asia*. The book was translated into Romanian 158 years later by Eugen Popa in 2016.[4] The fact that, despite dedicating only a third of his book to the Romanian Principalities, the author placed Romania in the center of the attention is explained by Radu Gârmacea in the publisher's note on the Romanian version:[5] European and American newspapers had begun to write about the Lower Danube, about Bucharest and Iași and their populations; Romania was probably a more attractive title because the press was, at the time, active in writing about the diplomatic enterprises related to the status of the two Principalities which were soon to become united.

The forthcoming of World War Two determined the US officials and the public to pay even higher attention to Romania due to its geopolitical position, ethnic diversity, and oil resources, factors which were (legitimately) expected to impact the evolution of the war. This attention materialized in several ways. We can use Ruth Benedict's 1943 sociological research as an

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[2] Dennis Deletant, ed., *In and out of Focus. Romania and Britain – Relations and Perspectives from 1930 to the Present* (Bucharest: Cavallioti, 2005), 8.

[3] James Noyes, *Roumania: Border Land of the Christian and the Turk* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1858).

[4] Idem, *România, țară de hotar între creștini și turci*, trans. Eugen Popa (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2016).

[5] Ibid, 10–12.

example[6] or R.G. Waldeck's travelogue of Romania during the war (*Athene Palace,* 1942).[7] Both of these works are the result of a "cultural translation" performed by the authors with the intention of making the Romanian culture 'legible' for American readers. In recent times, along with the Romanians' fascination with Western societies after the collapse of the Communist regime and with the extensive (often negative) Western media coverage of Romania, the Romanians have become increasingly interested in the way they are regarded by Westerners. Consequently, initially representing Romania to a foreign public, these works were translated into Romanian.

It was in the interwar period that Romanian publishers began compensating for the lack of American literary works, both fictional and nonfictional, translated into Romanian. Despite the insufficient number of specialists (given the recent introduction of English in the Romanian higher education), we will notice that the number of translations had a consistent buildup.

More recently, American historians have researched the evolution of Romania and its international relations from the period between the Two World Wars. Some of these scholarly approaches have also been translated into Romanian so as to meet the Romanians' interest in both history and their own image as depicted from a Westerner's viewpoint.

The primary enabler of these literary, philosophical, and imagological encounters is translation. We will present a number of analyses of these cultural exchanges in the lines that follow.

The Translation of American Literary Works

As previously mentioned, the availability of American (and British) literary works for the Romanian readership was low in the period. This is mainly because of the French cultural, educational, and administrative model which was adopted by Romania in its process of modernization, and which obviously determined the Romanian intellectuals to have a vocation for French authors;

[6] Ruth Benedict, *Cultura și comportamentul la români* (Bucharest: Criterion, 2002).

[7] Rosie G. Waldeck, *Athene Palace* (New York: McBride & Co, 1942).

it is, certainly, also because of the scarcity of English language specialists at that time. A report presented by Lucian Boia shows that the USA was only the sixth provider of source literary texts translated into Romanian between 1859 and 1918, with a total of 589 such translations published (one hundred of literary history and criticism, eighty-one of poetry and 408 of prose). The first five positions were held by France (9315 works), Germany (3250), Russia (2028), Italy (1411), and England (1156).[8]

Fortunately, the interwar period marked the beginning of what would later prove to be a consistent effort in filling in this cultural deficiency. According to the Bibliography of Relations of the Romanian Literature with Foreign Literatures in Periodicals,[9] there is a sensible growth in terms of translated works of literature compared to the previously mentioned report. Thus, 145 works of poetry written by American authors were published in Romanian periodicals between the Two World Wars. The preferred poet is Edgar Allan Poe, with twenty-one entries. Many of these poems were translated by the Romanian poet Emil Gulian (including one of the versions of *The Raven*/*Corbul*, 1938). Accordingly, 278 novellas and short stories were published in the periodicals, along with fifty-three novels.

Numerous novels were published *in extenso* before and, especially, during World War Two. The author of the most translations is Pearl Buck, with fifteen works (including *East Wind: West Wind / Vânt de răsărit. Vânt de la apus* (1940 translated by Jul Giurgea). Jack London's works were translated twelve times, e.g., *White Fang / Supusul zeilor*, 1928, in Romanian by C. Popescu; *Jerry Of The Islands / Jerry în insula canibalilor* and *Michael, Brother Of Jerry / Michael,* both translated by G. M. Amza and published in 1942. Mention should be made here of *Moby Dick*, by Herman Melville, 1943, translated by Wally Alexandrescu, and *Gone With The Wind* by Margaret Mitchell / *Pe aripile vântului*, 1940, translated by Mary Polihroniade-Lăzărescu and later

[8] Lucian Boia, *Romania. Borderland of Europe (*London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 200.

[9] Academia Română, Institutul de Istorie și Teorie Literară "G. Călinescu," *Bibliografia relațiilor literaturii române cu literaturile străine în periodice (1919–1944),* vol. 2 (Bucharest: Saeculum, 1999), 262–80.

republished multiple times. Louis Bromfield also has three translated novels in the period: *A Modern Hero / Un erou modern*, 1940, V. Demerius; *The Rain Came / Vin ploile*, 1941, Lucia Demetrius, V. Demetrius; *Night in Bombay / Nopți în Bombay*, 1944, Gheorghina Haneș-Ghibănescu. These data have been retrieved from the online catalogs of the Central University Libraries of Iași,[10] Cluj-Napoca,[11] and Bucharest.[12]

The above-mentioned Bibliography also refers to no less than 1385 literary essays and book reviews, all related to American literature, published in the period.[13] Moreover, 33 nonfictional works, including essays, speeches, letters, travelogues, or autobiographies, are also mentioned.[14] For example, the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin was translated by the theologian Florea Gâldău and published in 1942 by the Romanian Royal Foundation for Literature and Art.[15] This quantitative survey shows us that, during those years, American literature became increasingly available to the Romanian public.

Imagological Exchanges through Travelogues

Romanian Travelers in the USA

According to Dorian Branea, by the end of World War One, the US had already become the home of a number of Romanian immigrants settled in communities in industrial centers from, for example, Michigan or Illinois. In his book, *Statele Unite ale Românilor [The United States of the Romanians]*, Branea lists eleven Romanian visitors to the US during the interwar period,

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10 *"Mihai Eminescu" Central University Library Catalog*, Iași, http://www.bcu-iasi.ro/catalog-bcu, Accessed March 6, 2023.

11 *Central University Library Catalog*, Cluj-Napoca, http://aleph.bcucluj.ro:8991/F?RN=268519213, Accessed March 6, 2023.

12 *"Carol I" Central University Library Catalog*, Bucharest, http://cacheprod.bcub.ro/webopac/Vubis.csp, Accessed March 6, 2023.

13 The Romanian Academy, *Bibliografia relațiilor literaturii române*, 211–62.

14 Ibid, 279.

15 Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiografie*, trans. Florea Gâldău (Bucharest: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1942).

whose accounts contributed, in varying degrees, to the emergence of a particular "American image" in Romania.[16] Besides the Romanian communities, as Branea demonstrates, the attention in the era was mostly focused on political institutions, minorities, women's rights, industry, and natural wonders like Niagara Falls, the Rocky Mountains, and canyons.[17] Unable or unwilling to temporarily overlook their own cultural identity (which could facilitate a detached observation of the foreign culture), the travelers experience the inevitable culture shock while regarding this culture in comparison with their own. For example, Nicolae Lupu's *American Journal*[18] mentions the tendency towards tabloidization and unrefined entertainment of the American press and public (a stereotype also disseminated by other Romanian travelers cited by Branea: V.V. Stanciu,[19] Nicolae Iorga[20]); crime and racism are also sources of stereotyping; on the other hand, the institutional organization of the US is placed in contrast with the Romanian one, which he finds outdated and mediocre; according to V.V. Stanciu, lawyer and politician.[21] Romania could also follow the example of the American "organization and perseverance" and, thus, give up its "oriental apathy" – a (self)cliché widely spread in writings on Romania to this day. The spectacular aspect of the big American cities impacted most Romanian travelers of the period. Despite the wide varieties and contrasts noticed by these travel writers in terms of race or wealth, we notice several recurrent words taking the form of clichés that would describe the common American: pragmatic, energetic, adaptable, cheerful, easy to approach, friendly (Lupu[22]); lacking formality (Stanciu[23]); lacking tendency towards formality (N. Iorga[24]); open, friendly (Comarnescu[25]).

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16 Dorian Branea, *Statele Unite ale Românilor: Cărțile călătoriilor românești în America în secolul XX* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2017), 47.

17 Ibid, 31.

18 Ibid, 48.

19 Ibid, 61.

20 Ibid, 77.

21 Ibid, 71.

22 Ibid, 51–52.

23 Ibid, 68.

24 Ibid, 82.

An interesting and quite amusing depiction of New York is found in the Romanian engineer Jean Stoenescu-Dunăre's travel account of America, published in the *Natura* magazine in 1935.[26] He literally translates, not only interculturally – with occasional spelling mistakes (e.g., through *naturalization*, when describing the Madison Square, "tocmai în centrul orașului, cum ar fi Piața Teatrului Național din București"[27] – i.e., "in the very center of the city, like the National Theater Plaza in Bucharest"; when performing currency conversion: "un tiket care costă un nikel – 25 bani -"[28] – i.e., "a ticket which costs a nickel – 25 bani"), but also interlingually, again with occasional spelling mistakes: "The Flat Iron Building – edificiul fierului de călcat"; "How do you do? – ce mai faceți? – "I am well" – sunt bine...- "Fine weather, nice day" – "vreme plăcută, zi frumoasă" (...) "Goodby" – la revedere."[29]

Perhaps the most humorous story was determined by the culture shock the author experienced when introduced to chewing gum, which "fiecare mesteca cu gura închisă, ceva care nu se mai termina. Câtva timp în urmă mi-am explicat surpriza, când am aflat că Americanii obișnuesc un fel de sacâz "Chewing-gum" pe care nu-l scot din gură decât la masă și atunci când se duc să se culce,"[30] i.e., "something which everybody chewed with their mouth closed and never finished. A while ago I figured out the surprise, when I found that the Americans are used to a sort of resin, "Chewing gum," which they never take out of their mouth, except when having a meal or going to sleep."

American Representations of Romania

As we have noticed, the earliest American travel account on the Romanian territories is the one authored by James Noyes (1858). Although it does not

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[25] Ibid, 144.
[26] Jean Stoenescu-Dunăre, "În America," *Natura* 24, no. 8 (October 15, 1935): 21–27.
[27] Ibid, 24.
[28] Ibid, 22.
[29] Ibid, 24.
[30] Ibid, 22.

refer to the interwar period, it is worth mentioning here because of the imagological transfers facilitated through translation. The Romanian version was released by the Humanitas Publishing House in 2016, in the *Memoirs and Journals* collection, which addresses the consistent interest that the Romanians have in their own image as reflected in the West. The translator is made visible from the publisher's note, where it is said that "the translation is faithful and keeps the original lexical register (neologisms, archaisms, neutral terms)" and that the words originally written (often inaccurately) in foreign languages (Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Turkish) were adjusted in the target text.[31] Although these inaccuracies could have clearly exposed the viewpoint coming from a foreigner (for instance, geographical adaptations, e.g., *La porte de fer*/*Porțile de Fier*; *Kalougareni*/*Călugăreni*), the fact that the corrections were revealed and marked in the target text with italics, along with the occasional translator's historical notes help the Romanian readers realize that they are, in fact, 'the Other' and, thus, adopt a knowledgeable position within the established intercultural dialogue, although the position involves certain feelings of estrangement in regard with their own culture. Some of these words and phrases refer to the traditional Romanian clothing ("sheepskin *jubas*[32] / "*șube* de oaie"[33]), housing ("They are Wallach houses. The peasants call them *Kolibes*,"[34] / "Sunt casele valahilor. Țăranii le numesc *colibe*"[35]) or transportation ("The *surrujus*, our horsemen"[36] / "*Surugiii*, călăreții noștri"[37]). These cultural explicitations meant to reveal the foreign culture to the American readership, by being rendered into Romanian, have the effect of making the Romanian readers feel estranged since they deal with aspects with which they were already familiar. The same goes with the Latin feature of the Romanian language, a usual source of clichés in the Romanian territories. The language,

31 Noyes, *România*, 16.
32 Idem, *Roumania*, 95.
33 Idem, *România*, 93.
34 Idem, *Roumania*, 96.
35 Idem, *România*, 94.
36 Idem, *Roumania*, 96.
37 Idem, *România*, 94.

which Noyes called *Wallachian*, impressed the author: "The last has a great similarity with Italian in the sounds of the letters, and especially in the smooth open flow of the vowels"[38] / "Cea din urmă seamănă mult ca sonoritate cu limba italiană, mai ales prin curgerea lină și deschisă a vocalelor."[39] The translator achieved perhaps the most striking effect of cultural estrangement when having to render the well-known Romanian folk ballad *Miorița*, which had been translated (in a very explanatory manner) into English in the source text. Instead of using the original Romanian text, the translator opted for a literal version of the source text:

> Down the mountain side as beautiful as the entrance to Paradise, descend toward the valley three flocks of lambs, led by three young shepherds: one of them is an inhabitant of the plains of Moldavia, another is Hungarian, and the third is a mountaineer of Vrantchia.[40]
>
> Pe o coastră de munte, loc minunat ca la porțile Raiului, coboară spre vale trei turme de oi, mânate de trei păstori tineri: unul dintre ei este un locuitor al câmpiilor Moldovei, altul este ungur[ean*], iar al treilea – un muntean din Vrancea.[41]

Similar clichés can be found in Sacheverell Sitwell's *Roumanian Journey*.[42] The English travel writer spent four weeks in Romania due to a private arrangement between himself and the Callimachi family of noblemen. Goldsworthy mentions that the visit was also sponsored by the Romanian government with five hundred pounds.[43] According to the *BankofEngland.co.uk*[44] and *BankofAmerica.com*[45] websites, the sum equals 30,188 US dollars as of 12 March 2023. This cultural translation of Romania, which Sitwell himself called "one of the least known European countries," was meant to bring an

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38 Idem, *Roumania*, 66.
39 Idem, *România*, 66.
40 Idem, *Roumania*, 102.
41 Idem, *România*, 98. *Originally Hungarian.
42 Sacheverell Sitwell, *Roumanian Journey* (London: Bloomsbury Reader, 1938).
43 Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 194.
44 *The Bank of England*, www.BankofEngland.co.uk, Accessed March 12, 2023.
45 *The Bank of America*, www.BankofAmerica.com, Accessed March 12, 2023.

improved image of the country. It talks about the Romanian traditions, countryside and cities, Orthodox churches, the proper treatment of minorities, the progress that the country was making under the wise rule of the monarch. The book was soon reviewed by the New York-based *Saturday Review of Literature*[46] in rather negative terms, which accuse much redundancy: the writing features too many descriptions of private houses, which could not be typical for the whole country. What the reviewer finds interesting (and perhaps relevant to the American readership) is the oil wells and the Gypsy, Jewish, and Russian minorities. Thus, we may speculate that a review of this sort could be seen as a "gist cultural translation."

An American travelogue on wartime Romania, which was translated into Romanian, is Rosa Goldschmidt Waldeck's *Athene Palace*. As a correspondent of *Newsweek*, Waldeck spent seven months in the Romanian capital in an extremely turbulent period, which also brought massive territorial losses. According to Latham Jr., American journalists had multiple possibilities to carry out their jobs in Europe since the USA had not gone to war yet, but Bucharest was a satisfactory place for them due to "lax censorship, a favorable exchange rate, a traditionally friendly population and a comfortable, even luxurious standard of living."[47] At least the last part of Latham Jr.'s description reminds us that Waldeck's characterizations following her stay in Bucharest, far from being idyllic, could not be typical for the whole Romanian society. In short, as Kaplan observes, the book offers a "gossipy memoir of sexual intrigue inside the hotel and an exquisitely detailed close up of Romanian manners."[48] Inevitably, there are national and ethnic images of Romania that the American and, later on, Romanian readership encounters. Waldeck makes use of naturalization when she introduces the center of Bucharest to her readers at the very beginning of her book (Chapter I – *Romanian Scene*):

> The Athene Palace lined the width of the Piața Atheneului, Bucharest's magic square that opens on the most glamorous artery of the Near East, the Calea

[46] *The Saturday Review of Literature* XVIII no. 18, August 27, 1938.
[47] Latham Jr., *Timeless and Transitory*, 218.
[48] Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History* (London: Picador, 1993), 81.

> Victoriei. Imagine the White House, the Waldorf Astoria, Carnegie Hall, Colony Restaurant, and the Lincoln Memorial, all standing together around a smallish square blossoming out on an avenue which is a cross between Broadway and Pennsylvania and Fifth Avenues, and you understand what the Piața Atheneului means to Romania. Here was the heart of Bucharest topographically, artistically, intellectually, politically and, if you like, morally.[49]

Travel writers often compare the 'foreign' locales to their home ones and frequently clarify foreign culture-bound terms. This procedure is very similar to what Katan calls *lingua-cultural intervention*, something that translators usually do in order to make a text more explicit, by adding a gloss or specification so that a term becomes manifest to the reader.[50]

The Romanian version of the book (by Ileana Sturdza), *Athenée Palace*, was published in 2000 by the Humanitas Publishing House. As I showed in a previous article,[51] the mainly literal translation provides for a foreignizing/exoticizing strategy which impacts the readers cognitively, as it discloses the author's intention of presenting their culture as foreign and different. The American setting from the above fragment may not tell very much to the average Romanian reader, who is, however, confronted with this comparison and thus, becomes aware that Bucharest is, in this case, a foreign capital:

> Athenée Palace ocupa toată lățimea pieței Ateneului, încîntătoarea piață a Bucureștiului deschisă către cea mai celebră arteră din tot răsăritul european, Calea Victoriei. Închipuiți-vă Casa Albă, Hotelul Waldoft-Astoria, Carnegie Hall, Restaurantul Colony și Lincoln Memorial, grupate toate în jurul unei piețe minuscule deschise către o arteră care este un amestec de Broadway, Pennsylvania și Fifth Avenue, și veți pricepe ce înseamnă Piața Ateneului pentru România. Aici se afla inima Bucureștiului, din punct de vedere topografic, artistic, intelectual, politic și, dacă vreți, moral.[52]

[49] Waldeck, *Athene Palace*, 4.

[50] David Katan, "Intercultural Mediation," in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc Van Doorslaer, vol. 4, *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013), (84–91) 85, https://doi.org/10.1075/hts.4.int5.

[51] Andi Sâsâiac, "Re-Translating" the Exotic Romania. Foreignizing Strategies through Literal Translation in Waldeck's Athénée Palace," *in Debates on Globalization. Approaching National Identity through Intercultural Dialogue*, ed. Iulian Boldea, vol. 2 (Târgu-Mureș: Arhipelag XXI, 2015), 514–21.

[52] Waldeck, *Athénée Palace*, trans. Ileana Sturdza (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2000), 7.

The only act of domestication here is the phonetical adjustment *Piața Ateneului* which renders the more etymological *Piața Atheneului* from the source text. Perhaps keeping the source phrase in the target text would have contributed even more to the exoticization of Romania. Waldeck's first impressions of the general architecture of Romanian society are in blunt contrast with what Sitwell had found only a few years before:

> […] here the Nazis found a bloodstained corrupt regime, despised by everyone except the few people who profited by it. Here the Germans found an upper class indifferent or pro-Nazi. Here they found a deep-seated popular anti-Semitism. Here they found a fascist movement which, decimated though it was, had the halo of martyrdom. Here they found four-fifths of the people, eleven million out of fourteen – peasants, humble, starving, inarticulate, abjectly poor – who had never enjoyed any of the privileges of democracy.[53]

> Naziștii au găsit aici un regim corupt și pătat de sînge, disprețuit de toți, în afară de cei puțini care profitau de pe urma lui. Germanii au găsit aici o clasă supusă indiferentă sau pro-nazistă. Au găsit aici un antisemitism popular adînc înrădăcinat. Au găsit o mișcare fascistă care, deși decimată, avea nimbul martitiului. Au găsit patru cincimi din populație, unsprezece milioane din paisprezece – țărani umili, înfometați, încapabili să se exprime, de o sărăcie înfiorătoare – care nu se bucuraseră niciodată de vreun privilegiu al democrației.[54]

The target text omits the *upper* feature of the indifferent or pro-Nazi class, which, in a way, might suggest that the attitude was specific to the whole population. Otherwise, the rendering of the chronic poverty and systemic corruption, a fertile source of stereotyping on Romania, especially in the 1990s, is clear-cut.

The strategic impact that Romania was expected to have in World War Two also raised the attention of the American authorities. Anthropologist Ruth Benedict, while working for the American Office of War Information, authored the treatise *Romanian Culture and Behavior* (1943); a Romanian version was released in 2002 by Criterion Publishing. Since she did not travel to Romania herself, the study was based on previous works of Romanian and foreign authors and interviews with Romanian immigrants in the USA.

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53 Idem, *Athene Palace*, 1942, 7.

54 Idem, *Athénée Palace*, 2000, 11–12.

It is, nevertheless, a useful source of historical information, and that is why it is important to specify that Benedict only considered the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, the so-called "Old Kingdom," as being representative to Romania. Obviously, an anthropological approach could not be carried out outside an imagological framework. Benedict approaches aspects of the Romanian culture such as attitude towards history, land, adulthood, and family. She tries to demonstrate how Romania is different from the neighboring Slavic countries, bringing to attention the Latin origin of the language (a centuries-old cliché about Romania in travel writing); the other aspects tackled are the hundreds of years of vassalage owed to the Ottoman Empire, the reduced degree of industrialization and the pauperization of the peasantry. In contrast, according to Benedict,[55] before World War Two, Romania was undoubtedly one of the richest countries in South-Eastern Europe. Despite its improper means of exploiting its resources, Romania was the world's second exporter of corn and the fifth exporter of petrol. On the other hand, bribery was also noticed in the period by Benedict,[56] who claimed that it was quite common among most Romanian bureaucrats.

The communist subjection of Romania, which followed World War Two, was also approached in a travel work: *Assignment: Bucharest. An American Diplomat's View of the Communist Takeover of Romania*, by Donald Dunham. The book, first published in 1962, could not, of course, appear in Romania before 1990 and was therefore published only in 2000 under the patronage of the former Iași-based *Center for Romanian Studies.* Dunham was appointed public affairs officer at the American legation in Bucharest in 1947, and, as Latham Jr. asserts in the book preface, he was preoccupied with "the nature of the Romanian peasant and examined travel accounts on Romania by prominent foreigners."[57] As the author admits, his intention was "to show

[55] Benedict, *Cultura și comportamentul la români*, 32.

[56] Ibid, 35.

[57] Ernest H. Latham Jr., "Preface," in *Assignment, Bucharest: An American Diplomat's View of the Communist Takeover of Romania*, by Donald Carl Dunham (Iași and Portland, Or: Center for Romanian Studies, 2000), 14.

America in a big way" to the Romanians "who were backward and feudal anyway."[58] Dunham often accuses the anti-American propaganda directly. In other cases, he only suggests that things were terribly wrong for the Romanians: [because of the Communist takeover] "nobody was laughing or smiling; there was a controlled stillness in the air, half uncertainty, half dread."[59] When he asked a local person what had happened to the Bucharest that he had read about, he was told that Communism had killed it, that under "the system no one is allowed the bourgeois luxury of joy."[60] Several widely spread clichés are also provided in Dunham's book, such as the hospitality shown by the peasants, whom the author was told were "the real Romanians."[61] Moreover, fatalism is also illustrated in the form of a self-cliché: "my dear, we Romanians are born on the brink of fate and I think we never leave it. Fatalism. Oriental a bit."[62]

Interwar Romania in R. D. Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* (1993) and its Romanian translation (2008)

As a political scientist, journalist, and travel writer, Robert D. Kaplan skillfully integrates his three vocations in *Balkan Ghosts. A Journey through History*.[63] The American author of Jewish descent dedicates the second part of the book to Romania (the other three parts are about (the former) Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece). Thus, *Part Two* has the title *Romania: Latin Passion Play* (translated literally into Romanian as *România, jocul pasiunii latine*[64]), and it bears, as a motto, a quote from E. O. Hoppe: *…the Devil in Rumania leads a strenuous*

58 Dunham, *Assignment, Bucharest* (See Note 57), 28.
59 Ibid, 29.
60 Ibid, 30.
61 Ibid, 50.
62 Ibid, 146.
63 Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, 3
64 Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor: O călătorie în istorie*, trans. Diana Grad (Bucharest: Antet, 2008).

and tireless life.[65] Through these discourse structures, the author already suggests a mental picture of Romania, with words such as *play* (suggesting both the idea of drama and that of superficial games), *strenuous*, and *tireless,* along with the timeless cliché of the Latin heritage of the country. A review in *The Independent*[66] finds the seven chapters on Romania the most successful, "entertainingly written and often highly perceptive." A review in the *New York Times* cites Kaplan's claim that:

> […] the peoples of these alienated countries do indeed form an unhappy whole; and while the majority of their leaders indignantly deny any association with the Balkans, a term that since the late 19th century has stood for political chaos and internecine warfare, these lands are certainly all marked by pervasive suffering and extreme nationalist passions.[67]

The Romanian version of the book was released in 2008, one year after the adhesion of Romania to the European Union. The same as in the case of *Athénée Palace*, literal translation prevails as a translation strategy. What makes the translation of *Balkan Ghosts* different lies in the fact that, in this case, many instances which allowed for foreignizing strategies in translation (e.g., words originally written in Romanian in the source text) have been dropped, and that the target text is rather domesticated. This also applies, as we shall see, in the depictions of interwar Romania, in which the author relied extensively on the works of previous travelers (Hoppe, Fermor, Sitwell, etc.) in an instance of *the motif of return* to a place previously visited, which is specific to travel writing; the mainly negative images presented also allege that, in some respects, little progress has been made to much more recent times:

> After Timisoara I returned to Bucharest. The Diplomats Salon of the Athenee Palace was open in the evenings. A table required an advance reservation, or rather a bribe, since whoever stuffed more lei into the hands of the waiter got the place. Unlike the rest of the hotel, the Diplomats Salon was in a

65 Emil Otto Hoppé, *In Gipsy Camp & Royal Palace: Wanderings in* Romania (London: Methuen & Co., 1924).

66 "Book Review/Tearing up the historical map of the Balkans," *The Independent*, June 6, 1994.

67 "A World Gone Raving Mad," *The New York Times*, March 28, 1993.

perfect throwback to an earlier era: that of Athenee Palace Bucharest or *The Balkan Trilogy*.[68] [69]

The toponym Timișoara was corrected in Romanian using the appropriate diacritic; the name of the Romanian currency – *lei* – was originally written in Romanian and marked with italics; in the Romanian version, the italics were dropped, and, thus, the original usage of Romanian remained unmarked.[70] There are many similar instances of domestication in representing the interwar Romania: "Nicholae Iorga, Romania's greatest intellectual"[71] / "Nicolae Iorga, cel mai mare intelectual al României;"[72] the more etymological *Nicholae* was adapted phonetically to the Romanian *Nicolae*; comparably, in the description of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the leader of the interwar Iron Guard fascist political movement, the original usage of Romanian words was left unmarked in translation and even adapted with the appropriate diacritics: "His followers called him Capitanul ("the Captain")"[73] / "Adepții lui îi spuneau *Căpitanul*;"[74] "He organized the Legion around *cuibs* ("nests") of thirteen members each"[75] / "A organizat Legiunea în *cuiburi* de câte 13 membri;"[76] also, in the description of marshal Ion Antonescu, wartime dictator (1940–1944) and ally of Nazi Germany: "But the Conducator need not have worried about his subsequent reputation"[77] / "Însă Conducătorul nu avea de ce să își facă probleme în privința reputației sale ulterioare."[78] Even

[68] Olivia Manning's books are mainly works of fiction, in which she often writes about personal journeys and adventures in places in which she had personally been, with people she had personally known. Thus, her Balkan Trilogy is undoubtedly a travel literary work. The action of the first two volumes, *The Great Fortune* (1960) and *The Spoilt City* (1962) is set in Bucharest.

[69] Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts*, Kindle, chapter 11, location 3654.

[70] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 178–9.

[71] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 2601.

[72] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 125.

[73] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 2201.

[74] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 105.

[75] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 2191.

[76] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 104.

[77] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 2778.

[78] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 134.

historical inaccuracies are translated literally and left unmarked. For example, "After the war, Professor A.L. Cuza (no relation to the Cuza who had declared independence in 1859) taught at the University in Jassy"[79] / "După război, profesorul A.L. Cuza (nu are legătură cu Cuza care a declarat independența României în 1859) a predat la Universitatea din Iași."[80] The information is actually about Alexandru Constantin Cuza (also known as A.C. Cuza), an anti-Semitic interwar politician; Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza achieved the Union between the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859; Romania declared independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1877.

It is interesting to notice that, through an editor's note, the publisher calls for precaution when reading Kaplan's description of the course of the Holocaust in Romania:

> In 1941 and 1942, Antonescu oversaw the deportation of 185,000 Jews from Bessarabia and the northern tip of Moldavia (also recently liberated from the Russians) to Transdniestria, where forward units of the Romanian army were setting up the only non-German-run extermination camps in Europe. From late 1941 until the middle of 1942, in this obscure and remote theater of war, the Romanian army murdered every one of these people, stripping them naked, and shooting them in subzero temperatures. On a few occasions, when soldiers were low on bullets, they shot only the adults and buried the children alive.[81]

The footnote asserts that the author's opinion on the topic should be read with necessary precaution, as his sources are propagandistic rather than historical. However, the dreadful picture of the supposed executions of the naked victims is intensified through translation, as the "subzero temperatures" have been rendered as "un ger îngrozitor,"[82] *i.e.*, "a horrifying frost." A similar image intensifier is noticeable in the description of the Orthodox cathedrals built in Transylvania after World War One, which, according to the author, "dwarfed the Hungarians' Catholic and Protestant

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[79] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 2613.
[80] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 125.
[81] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 2750.
[82] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 132.

churches."[83] According to the translation, "românii au construit catedrale ortodoxe care umileau bisericile catolice și protestante,"[84] *i.e.*, they *humiliated* the Catholic and Protestant churches; there is no mention of the fact that they had been built by the Hungarian rule.

These apparently subtle alterations of meaning are very likely to go unnoticed following a strategy of literal translation coincident with domestication: although they know that the author talking about Romania is foreign, the Romanian readers are placed in a comfort zone and protected from the culture shock which could, otherwise, make them better prepared to engage in intercultural dialogue.

Conclusions

These analyses, brief as they are, undoubtedly show a consistent development of the Romanian-American cultural exchanges in the interwar period, exchanges which were facilitated by translation and travel. The period marked the beginning of an energetic filling of the cultural gap determined by the absence of valuable American works of literature in Romania. The need to fill this gap required a significant quantitative effort which often led to the quality of the translations to be faulty. For example, the interwar Romanian writer Mihail Sebastian qualified some of these translations as "bad, carried out by people with no capability or responsibility, who know neither English nor Romanian."[85] Although it was paused in the 1950s due to the Communist takeover of Romania, which determined the American writers to be incompatible with Romanian politics, the effort to favor the reception of American literature in Romania continued throughout the century. The political evolution also determined American travel writers to visit and write about Romania and make it known at home, and this inevitably led to the propagation of

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[83] Idem, *Balkan Ghosts*, location 3108.

[84] Idem, *Fantomele Balcanilor*, 151.

[85] Mihail Sebastian, "Notă despre literatura engleză în România," *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* 6 (6), 1939, 694, translation mine.

ethnic images which were, later on, made available to the Romanian readership through translation. These translations placed the Romanian readers in the atypical position of noticing that they had been regarded as foreign and exotic while being confronted with aspects pertaining to their own culture. It goes without saying that the USA has allured many Romanians during time, and the accounts of the interwar Romanian travelers also disseminate American imagological representations in what we may well call cultural translations.

The Fairy Tales of Queen Marie of Romania as Cultural Diplomatic Instrument in the U.S.A.

Cristina Matilda Vănoagă

Introduction

The 1920s marked a critical period in the relations between Romania and the United States. These relations were influenced by several significant factors, including the aftermath of World War I, Romania's territorial and political challenges, and the broader geopolitical landscape of the time. There was a period of developing diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations between Romania and the United States. The recognition of Romanian sovereignty, economic interests, and cultural exchanges contributed to this growth. However, Romania's geopolitical challenges and political dynamics, particularly concerning territorial disputes and domestic politics, presented complexities that required diplomatic efforts from both sides. Cultural exchanges between Romania and the United States also played a role in strengthening relations.

In this context, literature was an essential cultural diplomacy instrument. Literature is a soft power tool that countries can employ to enhance their international standing. It has the power to build bridges across different cultures and civilizations. Stories that resonate with universal themes of love, hope, struggle, and human experience can foster empathy and understanding among people from varied backgrounds. These shared narratives help connect societies and transcend political or geographic boundaries.

Queen Marie of Romania was well aware of these aspects and practiced cultural diplomacy through literature her entire life. She was a talented and

prolific writer, and her works spanned various genres, including poetry, essays, autobiographical accounts, and children's stories.

While she mainly wrote and published in English and the United Kingdom, after World War I, she chose to also publish in the United States to culturally map Romania and bring it to the attention of the Americans.

Many of the fictional works of Queen Marie of Romania published in the United States are fairy tales. Fairy tales, with their timeless narratives and universal themes, have proven to be powerful instruments of cultural diplomacy. These traditional stories, often rooted in a particular region or country's folklore and cultural heritage, can transcend borders, languages, and generations. As vehicles for conveying values, beliefs, and traditions, fairy tales play a significant role in fostering cross-cultural understanding and strengthening international relations. We depict as follows various fairy tales published by Queen Marie of Romania in the U.S. and the cultural aspects they bring to American readers.

The Story of Naughty Kildeen and Its Political Subtext

The fairy tale *The Story of Naughty Kildeen* was published first in 1922 at the prestigious Oxford University Press[1] and one year later, in the United States. It tells the story of a long-awaited royal offspring, a princess named Kildeen, who lacks any good manners and her coming of age through isolation, trials, and travels in enchanted territories. Following a classic fairy-tale pattern, the narration allows the author to present some Romanian misconceptions.

The first one is related to a queen's role in the kingdom. Throughout her life, Queen Marie engaged in numerous humanitarian activities. She provided aid to the poor and disadvantaged and supported charitable organizations. Her work extended to assisting refugees and displaced persons during and after World War I. Queen Marie, a passionate promoter of Romanian culture, supported various cultural and artistic endeavors. She

[1] Marie, Queen of Romania, *The Story of Naughty Kildeen* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922).

encouraged Romanian artists and writers and helped raise the profile of Romanian culture on the international stage. Her efforts to protect and preserve Romanian heritage endeared her to the people and solidified her status as a national icon. She was deeply committed to improving healthcare in Romania. She played a crucial role in establishing the first pediatric hospital in the country and was actively involved in the Romanian Red Cross. Her dedication to healthcare issues earned her the nickname "Mother of the Wounded" during World War I when she personally cared for wounded soldiers and led relief efforts. Queen Marie was a diplomat and influencer on the international stage. During World War I, she engaged in diplomatic efforts to secure support for Romania and played a vital role in garnering international recognition for the country's territorial claims. Her advocacy for Romania's interests was instrumental in negotiating the Treaty of Trianon, significantly expanding the country's territory and influence. At the same time, Queen Marie was a vocal advocate for women's rights, a topic she was deeply passionate about. She championed the suffrage movement and called for women's participation in public life. Her advocacy laid the foundation for women's rights progress in Romania. Considering the intense activity of Queen Marie of Romania in society and politics, the fairy tale brings a glimpse of feminism to the reader:

> It is not expected of a Queen to be intelligent; she must be pretty, she must wear fine clothes, she must know how to smile even when she is feeling sleepy, and she must be gentle and kind. However, it occasionally happens that she learns to become the King's understudy by the force of circumstances and that at hours of weariness it may sometimes be her wits that save a situation.[2]

During the 1920s, Romanians did not fully support the monarchy. This decade witnessed significant political instability in Romania. Frequent changes in government and shifts in political alliances contributed to a sense of uncertainty and disillusionment with the political establishment. Some people blamed the monarchy for the political instability. Still, while

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[2] Ibid, 25.

voices were critical of the monarchy, the anti-monarchy sentiments did not translate into widespread movements or actions to abolish the monarchy during the 1920s. The monarchy remained intact with the support of certain political groups and power structures. King Ferdinand I and Queen Marie enjoyed popularity for their efforts during World War One. The anti-monarchy opinions are represented in the fairy tale by a character who, from the start, is discontent with the birth of royal offspring and the continuation of lineage, a woman named V. Populi, a reference to *vox populi*. She states toward the end of the narration:

> I believe in the rights of the people, and I shall bow down to no crown and no purple. The sun was made for me as well as for you. Get along to your palace and leave me to my apples. One trade is as good as another, 'tis only a freak of fate that put you on a throne and me under an umbrella in the street![3]

At the same time, another character, a strange little man in a kingdom ruled by a swan, states: "You think you are something very special because you have H. R. H. before your name, but that is no merit of yours."[4] The inconsistency of this type of opinion when material gain is possible by supporting the monarchy is also illustrated in the tale through V. Populi, who suddenly becomes friendly at the promise of her apple bought for the royal palace. At the opposite pole, voices criticizing the populist attitude of Queen Marie are depicted as follows:

> The court had sniffled, disapproving of such dalliance in the open street. This was its opinion: Kings and Princes should stick to their own business, and leave such affairs in the hands of those who know how to keep the rabble in check. When Kings begin to converse with apple-women in public squares of the town their infallibility becomes a meaningless word, their glorious superiority but a lost dream of the past.[5]

Although children's literature is usually destined to entertain and educate children, Queen Marie of Romania used it as a pretext for expressing

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3 Ibid, 142.
4 Ibid, 108.
5 Ibid, 146–7.

experiences she had lived and diplomatically criticizing them. For the usual American readers, the fairy tale brings to attention a Romanian creation. However, for attentive readers, it delivers feminist ideas and the lesson of a monarchy serving the people and closely interacting with them. To be a good princess means for Kildeen to be well-behaved and pass over her emotions diplomatically to maintain peace and a good royal image.

The Queen of Roumania's Fairy Book – A Cultural Ambassador

1920 is the year of the first American edition of Romanian folk tales collected and translated by Queen Marie of Romania.[6] The book contains fairy tales from various regions of Romania, offering readers a glimpse into the country's rich folklore and storytelling traditions. Queen Marie aimed to preserve and share the magical and unique tales passed down through generations in Romanian culture through this collection. Each story in this collection is a gem, offering its distinct charm and life lessons.

The Queen's option for this type of folk narrative comes from understanding their importance in cultural identity. Folk tales are, without a doubt, indispensable to preserving, expressing, and transmitting cultural identity. They encapsulate a culture's values, history, and unique attributes. The volume's stories embody a culture's collective wisdom, shared experiences, and cherished heritage. As an essential form of human communication, folk tales are pivotal in preserving, expressing, and transmitting cultural identities across time and space. Romania, a land of captivating landscapes, rich history, and diverse traditions, boasts a treasury of folk tales that mirror the heart and soul of its people. Deeply embedded in the country's cultural patterns, these tales are more than mere narratives; they are windows into Romania's identity, values, and intimate connection with nature and history.

With their universal themes and relatable characters, folk tales transcend language and cultural barriers. The stories resonate with people from

[6] Marie, Queen of Romania, *The Queen of Roumania's Fairy Book* (New York: Frederick A. Stocks, 1920).

different backgrounds, allowing for a profound cross-cultural understanding. Recognizing shared human experiences and emotions is a cornerstone of cultural diplomacy, and folk tales facilitate this recognition. Queen Marie of Romania was not the only Romanian royal to write and publish tales. Queen Elisabeth, with the pen name of Carmen Sylva, wrote fairy tales in German, which were later translated into English. Silvia Irina Zimmerman makes an inventory of their books in English and underlines that,

> both queens mentioned their royal status on the titles of their books: Pilgrim Sorrow. A Cycle of Tales by (Carmen Sylva) Queen Elisabeth of Roumania (New York, 1884), Golden Thoughts of Carmen Sylva Queen of Roumania (London and New York, 1900), A Real Queen's Fairy Tales by Carmen Sylva (Elizabeth, Queen of Roumania) (Chicago, 1901), A Real Queen's Fairy Book by Carmen Sylva (Queen of Roumania) (London, 1901), The Lily of Life. A Tale by Crown Princess of Roumania with a preface by Carmen Sylva (London, New York, Toronto, 1913)." After the death of King Carol I, Queen Marie continued to publish her fairy tales, novels, and children's books in the U.S.A. and the U.K. calling herself simply "The Queen of Romania": The Dreamer of Dreams by The Queen of Roumania (London, New York, Toronto, 1915) and The Queen of Roumania's Fairy Book (New York, ca. 1923),[7]

which clearly shows the intention of culturally mapping Romania and juxtaposing geography and traditions, values, and geography. Disregarding language and culture, fairy tales have the same lessons:

Fairy tales, with their timeless narratives and enduring appeal, convey a range of universal lessons that resonate across cultures and generations. Some of the most common universal lessons found in fairy tales include the triumph of good over evil by teaching goodness, kindness, and morality ultimately prevail, reinforcing the importance of ethical behavior and virtuous choices, and the value of courage; characters in fairy tales often face daunting challenges or confronting fearsome adversaries; the rewards of kindness and generosity, emphasizing the importance of treating others with empathy and compassion, the importance of honesty; the power of resourcefulness; the

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[7] Silvia Irina Zimmerman (ed.), *The Child of The Sun: Royal Fairy Tales and Essays by the Queens of Romania, Elisabeth (Carmen Sylva, 1843–1916) and Marie (1875–1938)* (Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2020), 8.

value of perseverance; the respect for nature; the significance of friendship; the journey of self-discovery. By showing that Romanian fairy tales have similar lessons and values with other cultures' similar stories, a bridge is created for cultural communication.

Publishing in the "It Magazine" for American Women

Queen Marie of Romania also published a fantastic short story in one of the most-known American magazines for women: *Good Housekeeping*. *Good Housekeeping* was founded by Clark W. Bryan, a successful businessman, as a part of the Hearst Corporation in 1885. The magazine initially focused on providing practical advice and information for homemakers, covering cooking, cleaning, home management, and child-rearing topics. From its early days, *Good Housekeeping* aimed to be a reliable source of information and advice for women in their daily lives. The slogan, "A Magazine for Homemakers," reflected this commitment.

It published articles on home economics, consumer product reviews, and various aspects of housekeeping. Under the leadership of editor-in-chief Edward Bok in the early 1900s, *Good Housekeeping* introduced a novel concept to its readers – the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval. This seal was awarded to products that met the magazine's rigorous standards for quality and reliability. It became a symbol of trust for consumers and manufacturers alike. *Good Housekeeping* was also known for its involvement in social issues. The magazine published articles advocating for women's rights, including voting rights. It supported various social causes, such as child welfare and education, and promoted positive social change. Over the years, *Good Housekeeping* expanded its content to include fashion, beauty, health, and relationship advice, making it a comprehensive women's magazine that addressed various aspects of a woman's life.[8]

[8] Michael D. Bordo and Hugh Rockoff, "The Gold Standard as a 'Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval,'" *The Journal of Economic History* 56, no. 2 (1996): 389–428, June 4, 2023, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2123971.

The years between 1913 and 1942, under the esteemed editorship of William Frederick Bigelow, played a pivotal role in shaping the magazine's identity. Bigelow's editorial vision and leadership left an indelible mark on "Good Housekeeping." During his tenure, the publication established itself as a trusted source of advice, information, and inspiration for women across America. It set the tone for the magazine's commitment to providing practical guidance on home management, child-rearing, and family life, a tradition that continues today. Bigelow's legacy, combined with the magazine's one-million-strong readership and resilience during challenging times, secured *Good Housekeeping* as a beloved and enduring publication in American media history.[9]

During the 1920s, *Good Housekeeping* witnessed a remarkable milestone when its circulation reached the one-million mark. This achievement was a testament to the magazine's growing popularity and ability to resonate with a broad readership. This period was marked by economic prosperity in the United States, which allowed the magazine to thrive, as it catered to the interests and aspirations of the American middle class.[10] This was when Queen Marie of Romania was present in the magazine with a fantastic short story similar to a folk tale named *Loolalu*. Its presence in the magazine was announced in the February 1925 issue of *Good Housekeeping*:

> She rules a country you can find on any map of Europe, but when you have read the story of the loveliest mermaid that has ever drifted into an island sea, we think you'll agree that she is sovereign over Elfland, too. It will be published in the issue – of Lulaloo by Marie, the Queen of Roumania.[11]

Indeed, the following issue of the magazine published the story *Lulaloo: A Fairy Tale Told* on pages 20–23 and 191–198. The fairy tale tells the story of Father Nicodemus, a hermit living deep inside a wood, praying all day to God. One day, a charming lake maid, Lulaloo, appears in the lake near his

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[9] Frank Luther Mott, "Good Housekeeping," *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 125–43.

[10] Frank Luther Mott. "Good Housekeeping," 125–43.

[11] *Good Housekeeping* LXXX, no.2, February 1925, 2.

hut, disturbing the old man's peace. Enchanted by the feminine presence, Father Nicodemus forgets his prayers and service to God, dedicating all his time to keeping company and preparing meals for the mermaid from the lake. The two of them spend many days like this until a knight appears. He was so handsome that he seemed to be Saint George himself. Lulaloo is now drawn to the knight, and she falls in love with him. Nicodemus contentedly feeds them and watches from a distance, his heart heavy with the pain of no longer being near Lulaloo. Inevitably, the mermaid is seduced by the knight, who, after a while, departs, promising to return when the king allows. Lulaloo becomes sad, continuously repeating that she has nothing more than a fishtail. Her days come to an abrupt end. The old hermit, now separated by his God, continuously repeats the mermaid's name and guards her grave before his hut. Winter comes, and he freezes to death. The fairy tale, therefore, tells the lesson of accepting one's condition and the impossibility of love between two different natures. It is possible that Queen Marie was inspired by the well-known poem *Luceafărul* (*The Evening Star*) written by Mihai Eminescu.

What is interesting in the publication of this fairy tale is that the Queen's literary creation benefits from no preferential treatment and is separated into two blocks next to other articles and commercials. The author's social and political notoriety has no importance for this magazine. Even the cultural aspect does not have much importance if we consider the literary quality of the fairy tale, which is very well written. Moreover, one of the commercials on the pages with the fairy tale may be offensive next to a royal literary production since it advertises toilet paper. Ironically, it connects the product with culture, launching the question: "What is culture?" and responding with the following lines:

> Perfect manners? Education? Poise? Finished taste in dress? All play a part. Yet there is another quality you instinctively look for in people with genuine refinement – perhaps one might call in the gift of hospitality. Go in their homes and somehow every detail that could probably contribute to your pleasure and comfort seems to have been provided. There are not rich homes always,

> but always they are thoughtful homes. And in such homes you will almost invariably find our product. For A.P.W. Satin Tissue Toilet Paper, with its exquisite texture and pure wood pulp content, insures perfect standard of quality which gentlefolk insist upon in all personal accessories.[12]

We have no information if the Queen had a saying in this commercial next to her fairy tale, but probably not since it is not the happiest choice next to a royal name. For the political adversaries of the Queen, it would have been important ammunition. Still, the beautiful fairy tale managed to bring the name of Romania to one million readers, which was impressive.

A Tale to Unite Children on Two Continents

On October 18, 1926, Queen Marie embarked on her celebrated visit to the United States of America. Her presence graced the American continent from October 18 to November 24, 1926. The idea of visiting America had germinated since the First World War and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The immense anticipation of this visit stirred a profound wave of enthusiasm across America, serving as a remarkable case study in political marketing and public engagement. Throughout her journey, Queen Marie received an overwhelming and rapturous reception. Following her reception in New York, Queen Marie proceeded to Washington, where she once more received a warm and enthusiastic welcome from the American people. On October 19, 1926, Queen Marie accepted the official invitation to the White House, where she was scheduled to meet with the President of the United States. She not only met high state representatives but was also interested in the American native's culture, visiting the Sioux and Blackfoot tribes and proving open-mindedness and cultural interest for the entire U.S. population.

Following the tour in the U.S.A., Queen Marie of Romania published *The Magic Doll of Roumania: A Wonder Story in which East and West Do Meet,*

[12] *Good Housekeeping* LXXX, no.3, March 1925, 193.

Written for American Children.[13] The story revolves around a Romanian peasant doll that miraculously comes to life, embarking on a magical journey with a young American girl named Nancy to meet the Queen of Romania. Together, they voyage through a diverse landscape, from the plains to the mountains, ultimately reaching the sea while forging new friendships. Shona Kallestrup shows that "The Saturday Review of Literature" described it as a deliberate effort to introduce American children to the traditions and activities of children in Queen Marie's homeland, characterizing it as unabashedly promoting cultural awareness.[14] Fairy tales introduce children to diverse cultures and traditions. Many stories have roots in specific regions or periods, offering glimpses into different societies' customs, folklore, and history. This fosters cultural curiosity and broadens a child's worldview, promoting tolerance and respect for diversity. Queen Marie knew these qualities and was attracted by the educational possibilities offered by fairy tales whenever she chose to write such narratives, not only in the American context. Still, she believed that cultural diplomacy and awareness do not mean just an official visit but a continuous effort and work to create bridges between cultures and generations. The American character only fictionally returns the Queen's visit to the U.S. and discovers the beauty of foreign geography and its traditions and beauties. Nevertheless, the title declares a desire to bring Romania to the American children.

Conclusions

Literature allows readers to immerse themselves in the lives of characters from different cultures and periods. It offers a window to worlds they may have never experienced, promoting empathy and broadening perspectives. By reading literature from other cultures, individuals gain insights into

[13] Marie, Queen of Romania, The Magic Doll of Roumania: A Wonder Story in which East and West Do Meet, Written for American Children (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1929).

[14] Shona Kallestrup, "View of 'Royalty Is No Longer Quite Royal': Word and Image in the Children's Tales of Queen Marie of Romania," *Image and Narrative* 19, no.1 (2018): 41.

diverse worldviews, customs, and values. This exposure encourages open dialogue and cultural understanding and dispels stereotypes and prejudices. Queen Marie of Romania chose literature as a soft power instrument. Her visit to the U.S. in 1926 was preceded and followed by continuous efforts to maintain Romania in the American people's attention, approaching them through a literary genre that opens hearts at all ages and all social levels: fairy tales.

Totalitarianism and the Emigration of a Romanian Architect to the USA in the Interwar Era

Maria Boștenaru Dan,
Octaviana Jianu

Introduction

The (re)discovery of architect Haralamb Georgescu in 2007 by Tim Braseth, a real estate developer, is inextricably linked to the restoration of the Pasinetti house after the demise of PM Pasinetti in 2006. Aaron Torrence from Design Plus Construction restored the house. The house was featured in *Arts & Architecture* magazine (1959) and is his only creation included in the Cultural Objects Name Authority of the Getty.[1]

Following the architect's rediscovery, Prof. Corneliu Ghenciulescu organized an exhibition at the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism, complete with a catalog[2] and a symposium with the curator of the Getty Collections.

He was featured in the exhibition *Overdrive: L.A. Constructs the Future, 1940–1990,*[3] from April 9 to July 21 at the Getty in Los Angeles and from October 20, 2013, to March 10, 2014, in Washington DC, with the unbuilt "Sky Lots" (1965). The first author of this study had the honor of working with independent researcher Jeffrey Head at the Canadian Centre for Architecture

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1 https://www.getty.edu/cona/CONAFullSubject.aspx?subid=700089811.

2 Corneliu Ghenciulescu, *Haralamb H. (Bubi) Georgescu: un arhitect român în S.U.A./ A Romanian Architect in the USA* (Bucharest: Editura universitară Ion Mincu, 2008).

3 Wim de Wit and Christopher James Alexander, *Overdrive: L.A. Constructs the Future, 1940–1990* (Getty, Los Angeles, 2013). Adnan Morshed, "Review: Overdrive: L.A. Constructs the Future, 1940–1990," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*,73, 4 (December 1, 2014): 588–9. https://doi.org/10.1525/jsah.2014.73.4.588.

in 2010. In the Bucharest exhibition Skyloft were presented by Jeffrey Head, independent researcher, whom the first author had the privilege to have as a colleague at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 2010, his research topic being Postwar architectural toys, so another postwar topic. It was also included in *Sky and Stone*,[4] a seminal work, the architect being credited Harlan Georgesco. This way the architect is in the good company of other American utopian architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright's "Illinois mile high skyscraper" in Chicago (1956–1959) and his housing tower project, "St. Marks Tower," in New York (1929), of which the first author wrote.[5] The one in Chicago was also featured in *Sky and Stone*.[6] Frank Lloyd Wright's influence was already evident in his Modernist diploma project. Like F.L. Wright, Haralamb Georgesco built in the desert and connected to Howard Lapham in Palm Springs. According to Mahu,[7] he even worked with F.L. Wright, his role model, at the start of practice.

Interwar editions of the Romanian magazine *Arhitectura*[8] credit him with Horia Creangă, a prominent architect of Romania during the Interwar period. Additionally, Horia Creangă partnered with another architect, Rudolf Fränkel, who had built in Romania during the interwar period before emigrating to the United States, but on different projects.

After his untimely death in 1977, Haralamb Georgescu was the subject of another article that appeared in the *Arhitectura* magazine in 1978, during the Ceaușescu Communist rule. The regime was softer then, and esteemed academics living abroad were no longer treated with such animosity. In fact, Ghenciulescu claimed that he traveled to Romania when the dictatorship softened.[9]

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4 Alison Sky, Michelle Stone, *Unbuilt America: Forgotten Architecture in the United States from Thomas Jefferson to the space age* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1976): (101–2, 293–4) 101–2.

5 Maria Boștenaru Dan and Alex Dill, "Living Highrise. The shelf architecture – From paper project to virtual project," *Acta Tech. Napocensis: Civil Eng. & Arch.* 57, No. 2 (2014): 95–103, https://oldconstructii.utcluj.ro/ActaCivilEng/download/atn/ATN2014(2)_1.pdf.

6 Sky, Stone, *Unbuilt America*, 293–4.

7 Adrian Mahu, *Arhitecții și exilul* (Onești: Editura Magic Print, 2011): 30–31, 38–40.

8 Horia Creangă and Haralamb Georgescu, "Hotel ARO Palace Brașov," *Arhitectura* 4 (1939): 19–22. Creangă (leader), Georgescu et al, "Luna Bucureștilor 1939," *Arhitectura* 3 (1939): 30–33.

9 Corneliu Ghenciulescu, *Haralamb H. (Bubi) Georgescu.*

Materials and Methods

The University of Nebraska archive's online research and the Getty Research Institute (GRI) finding assistance served as the initial sources for this study. The funds for Haralamb Georgescu's work are held in the Getty Collection in Los Angeles, a donation of his son, Christopher Georgesco.[10] Plans and images of the buildings completed alone or in collaboration with Horia Creangă in Romania and the USA are included. Based on literature and archive research (ex. at the National Archives of Romania, the Bucharest City Technical Fund), the location of the buildings is indicated on two different maps: in Bucharest and the USA, detailing Los Angeles. Field photographic research was done in Bucharest. The Arcanum database was utilized to conduct specialist literature studies in addition to books and articles that provide critiques on Haralamb Georgescu's work. Lastly, research and critique on comparative architecture were done.

Vita

Haralamb Georgescu was born in Pitești in 1908 graduated from the High School for Architecture in Bucharest in 1932, a short time after his own law for architecture teaching was released in 1932, while it was functioning as Architecture Academy, university equivalent, since July 15, 1931. A copy of Haralamb Georgescu's diploma as an architect is held at the National Archives of Romania. He also taught between 1941 and 1947, and this was the time when the architecture school operated under the Bucharest Polytechnic's Faculty of Architecture (1938–1948). He concurrently (1943–1948) attended a specialization in urbanism, which we will describe, along with Solange d'Herbez de la Tour, his collaborator at Hurmuzescu home. In addition to being an architect for King Mihai I, for whom he constructed a villa in Eforie, he was first and foremost linked in practice with Horia Creangă. On

[10] https://www.getty.edu/vow/ULANFullDisplay?subjectid=500202746&find=&role=&nation=&page=

September 16, 1947, he left for the United States of America, shortly after the Communists took control in 1945. This was before King Mihai I abdicated on December 30, 1947, when pressure most likely increased. He was one of the first architects to go into exile, if not the first therefore, this was early compared to other contemporaries. Investigations into the conditions are still necessary. Ghenciulescu[11] states that he left with his wife. At the same time, Mahu[12] alludes to two distinct legends related by his former pupil Stephan Eleutheriades of how, during the construction of his final structure, the Hurmuzescu mansion, which we will discuss later, his embarkation on a US ship from either the beach or the hotel "Carlton" (likely in Constanța). From 1948 to 1951, he was a professor at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln in the United States. Following that, he worked as an architect in Los Angeles, first for Hungarian-American interior designer and architect Paul László (1951–1953), then for different architectural firms, later as James Larson's assistant (1957–1963), and finally on his own. Before his death, he also worked in Australia for eight months. In 1977, he lost his life in an accident in Venice, California, a district of Los Angeles. Furthermore, he also designed a residence. He has designed buildings at the University of Nebraska as part of his architectural practice. According to the Arcanum database, in 1924, Haralamb Georgescu's father was an officer who was regularly under investigation by the government.

The town of Pitești, where Haralamb Georgescu was born, is in south-west Romania. The kula, a traditional house from when the Romanians had to defend themselves against Turkish invasion, can be discovered there. (Fig. 1) The kula in Mioveni is the nearest to Pitești. The kula was identified by Horia Creangă, Haralamb Georgescu's collaborator, as an inspiration for Modernism. The tower-like dwellings also served as an inspiration for the tower of the ARO building (1931) (Fig. 1), which served as the model for the Modernism manifesto on Magheru Boulevard, the protected built zone Modernist boulevard.

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[11] Ghenciulescu, *Haralamb H. (Bubi) Georgescu*.

[12] Mahu, *Arhitecții și exilul*, 3–31.



Fig. 1. Kula Duca in Măldărăști. Photo: M. Bostenaru, 2023

At a conference held in 1935, within the Association for Urban Planning of Bucharest,[13] Horia Creangă says:

> Observing the lines of the Romanian Kula, which of you could say that the architecture I am talking about breaks with the past? Unlike what is happening in our country, between the new conception and the styles that formed the specifics of the Western countries (Flemish, Gothic, Renaissance, etc.) there is a sudden break with tradition.[14]

Patrulius quotes on the same topic:

> On the same "line of land" he placed an ancient building of more than 5 millennia – so a pyramid – an ancestral tower and a modern construction, to conclude: ...therefore it is not a question of a style, but of a conception springing from necessities, which faced the millennia. It is not about a style, because styles perish, but about the architecture of simplicity, which remains steadfast.[15]

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[13] https://www.metacult.ro/architecture/referinte.php?id=711.

[14] Romanian original: "Observând liniile culei românești, care din dumneavoastră ar mai putea afirma că arhitectura despre care vorbesc rupe cu trecutul? Spre deosebire de ceea ce se petrece la noi, între concepția nouă și stilurile care formau specificul țărilor apusene (flamand, gotic, renaștere etc.) există o bruscă rupere cu tradiție."

[15] Radu Patrulius, *HORIA CREANGĂ – omul și opera* (Bucharest: Editura Tehnică, 1980). Original Romanian: Pe o aceeași «linie de pământ» așeza o clădire străveche de mai bine de 5 milenii —

In Zahariade (2019, Cf. infra,) another quote is discussed:

> The architecture of these towers is simple and does not deviate from the principles of architecture adopted by me. On the contrary, it would be a continuation, and not a break with the past.[16]

Romanian modernist architecture drew inspiration from the kula, while Greek island villages in the Cyclades served as a model for modernist architecture worldwide.[17]However, Haralamb Georgescu encountered ancient Greek architecture at Hurmuzescu House in Romania. Cycladic architecture originates from the time under the Ottoman Empire, just like Northern Greece, which is related to the kula in tower-like constructions.[18]

The tower house is a reaction to invasion also in other places of the Mediterranean, for example, the Casa Torre in Italy, typical for Tuscany (spreading from Pisa[19]) and the adjacent regions (Bologna, Pavia). In the Cyclades following the fall of the Roman empire, adaptation to invasion came (from the 4th century) until a period of relative stability was brought by the Venetians (1204–1538). The traditional protective architecture, such as

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deci o piramidă — o culă strămoșească și o construcție modernă, ca să conchidă: …prin urmare nu e vorba aici de un stil, ci de o concepție izvorâtă din necesități, care au înfruntat mileniile. Nu e vorba de un stil, fiindcă stilurile pier, ci e vorba de arhitectura simplității, ce rămâne statornică.

16 Ana Maria Zahariade, "Arhitectura locuinței în opera lui Horia Creangă," in eds. Ștefan Ghenciulescu, Diana Mihnea, *Horia Creangă, o monografie* (Editura Universitară „Ion Mincu" în parteneriat cu Asociația Zeppelin și SG Studio, Bucharest, 2019), 18–99. See below, "Răspunsul dlui arhitect Horia Creangă," in eds. Ghenciulescu, Mihnea, *Horia Creangă*, 231. Original Romanian: "Arhitectura acestor cule este simplă și nu se depărtează de la principiile arhitecturii adoptate de mine. Ea ar fi dimpotrivă o continuare, și nu o rupere cu trecutul."

17 Pedro Miguel Jiménez-Vicario, Maria Mestre-Martí, Manuel Alejandro Ródenas-López, "Mediterranean Islands' Vernacular Architecture and the Origin of Modern Architecture," in *Digital Modernism Heritage Lexicon. Springer Tracts in Civil Engineering,* eds. C. Bartolomei, A. Ippolito, and S.H.T. Vizioli (Springer, Cham, 2022); Jean-Francois Lejeune, Michelangelo Sabatino, *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean. Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2010).

18 Eirini Tsianaka, "Evaluating The Sophistication Of Vernacular Architecture To Adjust To The Climate," *WIT Transactions on The Built Environment,* 86 (2006): https://doi.org/10.2495/ARC060101

19 Mauro Sassu and Chiara Cei, ""Casa Torre" construction: multistory tower masonry with stone pillars and wood or arched beams," *World Housing Encyclopedia. 2005,* https://www.world-housing.net/WHEReports/wh100110.pdf

the towers in Northern Greece surrounding Thessaloniki and the Cycladic architecture on these islands, arose when the Venetians departed the Cyclades, and the Ottoman invasion posed a threat. Aside from their residential design, the Cyclades are distinct from the rest of Greece because they have a significant Catholic population.

Haralamb Georgescu traveled extensively with his mentor Horia Creangă in Germany, Northern Europe, Budapest, and London. He traveled alone, without his mentor, to Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Egypt. The anticipated visits to the Măldărăşti kulas began with Ion Mincu's current teaching position at the architecture school, now bearing his name as a university in Bucharest, where Haralamb Georgescu graduated.[20]

Buildings in Bucharest and Braşov in the Mountains, Romania

Before his emigration, Georgescu worked alongside Horia Creangă at the ARO buildings in Braşov (Fig. 2c) and Bucharest (Figs. 2a and 2b). They also collaborated for the *Pescăruş* restaurant (Fig. 3) and the Obor market hall (Fig. 2d),[21] which Haralamb Georgescu finished after the death of Horia Creangă. Additionally, they completed the amphitheater of the Central School of Girls, a work of architect Ion Mincu, today Bulandra Theater, among others. Though they are not too far from Vienna's Zacherl House or the first tower, the ARO buildings in Bucharest have different architectural languages. One features horizontal band windows, while the other is more reminiscent of the totalitarian era (to the right) of World War Two and is monumental. (by arch. Josef Plečnik, 1903–1905). The restaurant resembles Robie House of F. L. Wright in its language. The Bucharest city archives comprise the plans of two ARO buildings in Bucharest (Fig. 2a and 3b),

[20] https://centrulexpo.uauim.ro/ro/despre-noi/ghidaj.

[21] Maria Boştenaru, Victor Delgadillo Polanco, Olimpia Niglio, Viviana Caravaggi Vivian, Anita Arif, and Kevin Alexander Echeverry, "Fichas de mercados," in *Mercados de abasto. Patrimonio Turismo Gentrificación* (Rome: Aracne, 2020): 411–37.

the Pescăruș restaurant and his own house, one of the villas on Roma Street in the north villa quarter of Bucharest, which disappeared.



Fig. 2. Buildings of Haralamb Georgescu with Horia Creangă (a) ARO building now Patria in Bucharest (1931) where Haralamb Georgescu designed the cinema addition (1934). Photo: M. Bostenaru, 2002. (b) ARO building on Calea Victoriei in Bucharest (1937–39). Photo: M. Bostenaru, 2002. (c) ARO hotel (1937–38) in Brașov. Photo M. Bostenaru, 2019. (d) Obor food market (1937–43). Photo: M. Bostenaru, 2019

Additionally, Herăstrău Park, now Park King Mihai I, a recently established park that houses the restaurant and features a few villas erected independently by Haralamb Georgescu, is home to the temporary exhibition *Bucharest Month*.

Three of the four ARO buildings in Bucharest are located in the northern part. The first ARO building, the Manifesto of Modernism in Bucharest, has a Kula-like tower, common to Rationalist architecture in Italy.[22]



Fig. 3. "Pescăruș" restaurant (1939). Photos: M. Bostenaru, 2023



Fig. 4. Building by Haralamb Georgescu alone in Romania: Villa on Dr. Lister nr. 18 (1933). Photo: M. Bostenaru, 2023

[22] Stefano Podesta, Chiara Romano, "A Macroseismic method for vulnerability assessment of Rationalist architectural heritage," *Procedia Economics and Finance* 18 (2014): 173–180. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212–5671(14)00928–9.

One of the independently designed villas in the Cotroceni neighborhood can be seen in Fig. 4. All these are on the map in Fig. 5. Teodorescu[23] offers a more complete map, with buildings not present in the book or the archives, for example, the hall of the Bulandra theater, which formerly belonged to the Central School of Girls. In the same theater, Richard Bordenache authored the Studio Hall.

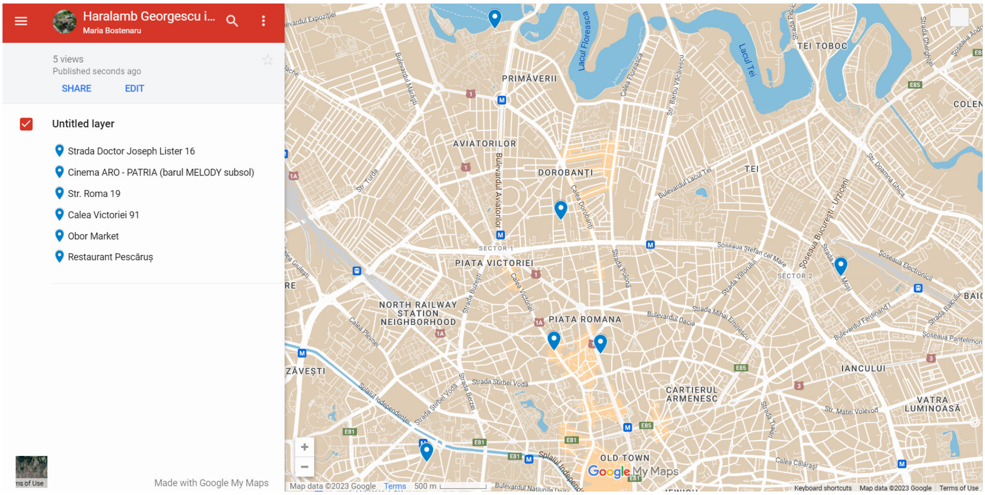


Fig. 5. Map of the interwar buildings in Romania[24]

A House on the Romanian Seaside and the Beginning of the Exile for Some Romanian Architects

Outside Bucharest, besides ARO Brașov, Georgescu also designed for King Mihai I in Eforie. The villa in Eforie was next to Prince Bibescu's "kula" type villa, designed by Modernist architect G.M. Cantacuzino. He worked alongside Solange d'Herbez de la Tour, a trainee and supervisor at the villa Hurmuzescu in Mangalia, his final project before departing for the US.[25] Solange d'Herbez de la Tour, the founder of the International Woman Architects,

[23] Sidonia Teodorescu "Arhitect Haralamb Georgescu" *Bucureștiul meu drag* (2016), https://bucurestiulmeudrag.ro/blog/articol/arhitect-haralamb-georgescu

[24] https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1daeSJTdx9i9fPTcGjJuW8ai0Epi798I&usp=sharing.

[25] Mahu, *Arhitecții și exilul*.

graduated in 1948 in architecture like Stephen Eleutheriades and in 1949 in urbanism. After the Communists came to control in 1950, she left and moved to France. A few memories of the villa are included in the book. It is portrayed nicely in a painting (included in Fig. 5)[26] given to the "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urbanism by Stephan Eleutheriades,[27] another graduate who left Greece for Brazil in 1950 after his father was arrested. He was Greek by descent but was born in Mangalia. Some other paintings also describe the house (with the house Oprisan[28] and the orchard behind it[29]). It belonged to the Museum of Archaeology "Callatis," established by archaeologist Vasile Pârvan, whose primary focus was research on Histria decades ago. He started exploring the Greek settlement Callatis, which preceded Mangalia. Both Eforie and Mangalia are at the seaside. After being taken from its owner, Dan Hurmuzescu, a law lecturer for the architects, by the Socialist state and returned to his heirs at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the house was turned into a museum.

Another Greek descent Romanian (born in Brăila), Iannis Xenakis, built a house in Amorgos in the Cyclades in the tradition of Modernist architecture, also in postwar time (1974). In organic interpretation, it was similar to the USA buildings of Haralamb Georgescu.[30] Kiourtsoglou[31] relates in a context associated with "Writing Urban Places," a recently concluded COST action.[32] The way Le Corbusier, with whom Xenakis first associated, also utilized Cycladic architecture, like Adolf Loos has done previously (who, following his honeymoon visit in 1902, returned to the region multiple times with his school and also visited the United States, primarily New York and Chicago),

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26 https://centrulexpo.uauim.ro/eleutheriades/p13.html.

27 https://centrulexpo.uauim.ro/eleutheriades/. Elisabeta Moraitakis, *Stephan Eleuteriades* (Institutul Cultural Roman, Bucharest), 2011.

28 https://centrulexpo.uauim.ro/Eleutheriades/p20.html.

29 https://centrulexpo.uauim.ro/Eleutheriades/p25.html.

30 House of François Bernard Mâche, Greece – Iannis Xenakis (iannis-xenakis.org).

31 Elisavet Kiourtsoglou, "Epistolary architecture: when writing letters created modern space. The case of Iannis Xenakis's house at Amorgos, Greece," *TEXT*, April (2019), Special Issue 55: Writing | Architecture eds Eleni Bastéa and Patrick West.

32 https://writingurbanplaces.eu/.

is mentioned. Not only did Le Corbusier travel in the Cyclades for the 4th CIAM, but also in "Voyage d'Orient."[33] (Huet, 2021).

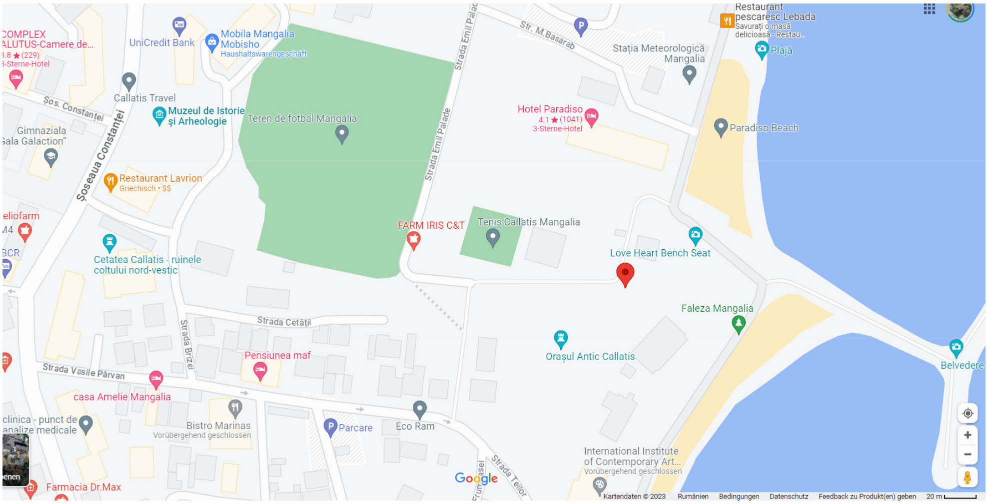


Fig. 6. Location of Villa Hurmuzescu in Mangalia according to Hurmuzescu Residence or Villa Hurmuzescu, Mangalia, Romania – Mangalia (wikimapia.org)

Buildings in the USA

The first buildings were two Orthodox churches in the Eastern Part of the USA. Later works are mainly concentrated in the Los Angeles area, as seen from the map (Fig. 7).

His architectural designs for villas persisted in the United States, the most well-known being the Pasinetti house (1958) in Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, California, which he designed for Venetian writer Pier Maria Pasinetti and his brother, director Francesco Pasinetti (who received the Pasinetti prize at the Venice film festival). The Pasinetti residence was built during his time working with James Larson. This is one of the two residences he built for Beverly Hills near each other.

Since the rediscovery of the Pasinetti house, the Bauhaus-style house (1968) in Brentwood, CA, was restored by Kurt Krueger in 2013 as Kearsarge

[33] Jacobé Huet, "Prospective and Retrospective: Le Corbusier's Twofold Voyage d'Orient," *Muqarnas Online* 38, 1 (2021): 291–330. https://doi.org/10.1163/22118993–00381P10.

Residence.[34] ArchDaily presents the renovation, including the floor plan Kearsarge Residence / Kurt Krueger Architect | ArchDaily. The architect's house is in the same area of Los Angeles (Fig. 8), and the Getty Research Institute (GRI), where part of his archive is, is close to it.

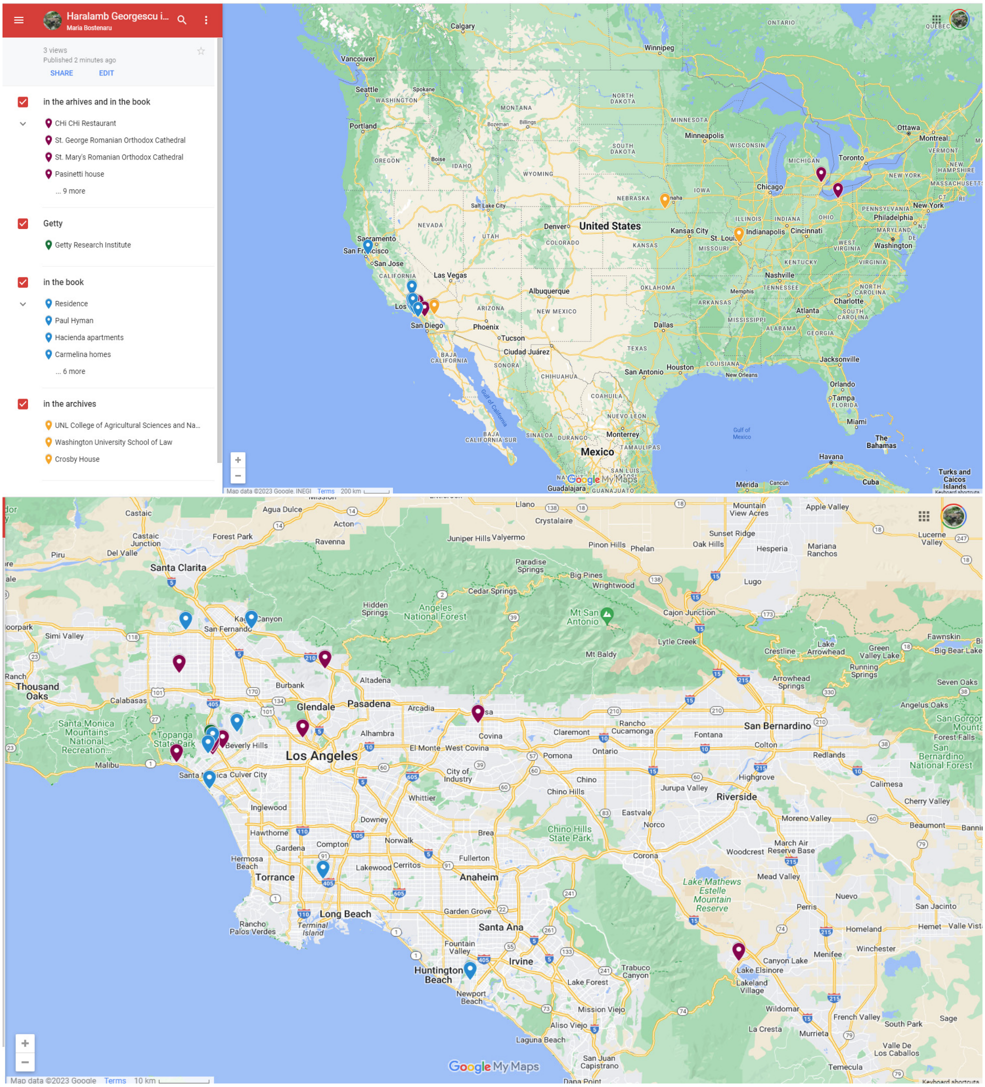


Fig. 7. Map of the buildings in the USA [35]

[34] https://kurtkruegerarchitects.com/renovation-of-bauhaus-style-home-in-los-angeles/.

[35] https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1vj_t1peJ6CmE63oJ8s_9I1sRpe1T-pY&usp=sharing.



Fig. 8. Georgesco house in California (1969). Photo: S. Kelley, 2023

Apart from residences (one-family homes and apartment blocks), Haralamb Georgescu also built public buildings, mainly health facilities (hospitals, convalescent centers, and homes for the aged). These pieces are pertinent because the International Union of Architects designated 2021 as the year of architecture for health. He built a restaurant in Bucharest as well. He also built a restaurant in the USA, named *Bucharest*, for a Romanian owner. It was one of his last works.

Discussion and Conclusions

Bucharest and Los Angeles buildings had to be seismically safe because both cities are located in seismically active zones (the most recent significant earthquake was the Loma Prieta earthquake in 1989). The traditional Greek homes were built to withstand earthquakes as well. Future studies will examine these interferences between the US and Romania.

The initial investigation of Haralamb Georgescu's design focused on examining the buildings' exteriors and charting their geographic distribution. Archive research is in progress and will be the subject of future publications.

Even while residential architecture was crucial to the professional evolution of Haralamb Georgescu, two restaurant buildings – one in Bucharest and the other in Romania – and a significant portion of health-related buildings need special attention. The one-family home was the first Haralamb Georgescu tackled as an independent practitioner in the spirit of the Bauhaus villa. Thus, we brought up the Hurmuzescu residence in Mangalia before his departure and his residence in Los Angeles. Similarities exist between two restored homes related to his (re)discovery.

We can also find that the *Arhitectura* magazine published a commemorative article after his passing in the times of Communism, which he fled from if we focus on the Hurmuzescu house, the last one he had built before leaving. The record of this house includes two other architects who also went into exile but had ties to other countries, unlike him. But the resonance was low, and that is how, three decades after the collapse of Communism, he was (re)discovered. His work has been featured in many publications, including architecture periodicals. His work in the USA is primarily documented in books and articles highlighting his drawings used in the building design; there is no considerable photographic documentation, which could be a topic for further study.

Specialists do not usually get a good sense of Haralamb Georgescu's style from publications. Many of them include drawings instead of photographs, while, for example, the paintings of the Hurmuzescu residence are far from photorealism. The slightly sloped roof, as at the kula, or at F.L. Wright, is still visible, especially when compared with non-published photos and the loggia, reminding of the same kula. Future research will include their photographic documentation. But we can conclude that the homes in the USA are "Bauhaus-style," which might be a throwback to his many trips to Germany with Horia Creangă. Among the places visited were Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, and Stuttgart, home to some famous examples of this architectural style. An

in-depth analysis will look in detail at the maps and investigate the location of his buildings between the center and periphery. Western European Modernism, especially the Bauhaus, built in the periphery, while in Bucharest, "other Modernisms" had a place in the center, on the new boulevards. However, as we have seen, the influence of F.L. Wright is also evident, as is the influence of Mediterranean architecture, which might have affected his decision to design the Pasinetti mansion. The Pasinetti residence's architecture is based on a series of cubes showing the influence of the Cyclades and the Kula, which can be related to the reinterpretation of Iannis Xenakis. Both renovated homes reinterpret The Kula's loggia in the Bauhaus style.

In order to meet modern standards, some of Haralamb Georgescu's USA buildings constructed in the early 20th century in the economically practical minimal living Bauhaus style have been rehabilitated. This is in line with the philosophy of Haralamb Georgescu, who, in his "Sky Lots," predicted difficulties beyond the Bauhaus's inexpensive housing. The European Commission's support of the "New Bauhaus" as it transitions to a Horizon Europe funding scheme mission today addresses this throughout Europe.

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Throughout the interwar period, America's interest in Romania grew and encompassed not only political, diplomatic, and historical aspects but also financial, cultural, and educational contributions.

Thus, the Romanian - American ties throughout the interwar period suggest innate complexity and dynamism. This volume presents novel techniques and issues examined from an interdisciplinary, multi-perspective, and intercultural perspective. These approaches are derived from ideas such as discussion, negotiation, educational, and cultural communications.

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